

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR MARCH, 1845.

ART. I.—1. *The Life of the Rev. Andrew Bell, D.D., LL.D., Prebendary of Westminster, and Master of Sherburn Hospital, Durham.* Comprising the History of the Rise and Progress of the System of Mutual Tuition. The first Volume by Robert Southey, Esq.; edited by Mrs. Southey: the two last by his Son, the Rev. Charles Cuthbert Southey. 3 vols. 8vo.

2. *A Brief Sketch of the Life of Joseph Lancaster.* Including the Introduction of his System of Education. By William Corston. 18mo.

FEW men in their time have occupied a larger share of public attention, or left behind them more enduring monuments, than Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster. Rich in incident, and pregnant with instruction, the lives of both now lie before us; and singularly as they contrast in outward attraction, in bulk, and in literary merit, they shall, for various reasons, receive from us equal notice, and be examined with equal care.

‘Andrew, the son of Alexander and Margaret Bell, was born,’ says Dr. Southey, ‘in the city of St. Andrews, on the 7th of March, 1753.’ His father was a barber, and evidently of no mean reputation. ‘Persons are still living who remember him hastening through the street with a professor’s wig, ready dressed, in each hand, his arms at half stretch to prevent their collision. After trimming one professor, he would sit down and breakfast with him, and then away to trim and breakfast with another; his appetite, like his mouth (and his mind also), being of remarkable and well-known capacity.’ Being a man of ability, he added to his original trade that of a clock and watchmaker, and

ultimately became baillie of the city, quelling, on one occasion, a popular tumult by his personal influence after all other means had failed.

The future doctor was his second son ; a plodding, industrious boy, fond of his books, but hating school, on account of the tyranny which he witnessed and endured. 'Oh, it was terrible ;' he said, 'the remains of feudal severity. I never went to school without trembling ; I could not tell whether I should be flogged or not.'

In 1769 Andrew matriculated at the college, eking out his scanty resources by private teaching. Dr. Wilkie, who was at that time the Professor of Natural Philosophy, particularly noticed him. 'Mind what I say,' Wilkie would say to him, laying his hand on his head, and stroking it ; 'pursue your studies, and they will make your fortune. *I never knew a man fail of success in the world if he excelled in one thing.*' This excellent piece of advice can scarcely be impressed too frequently or too forcibly on young men. 'Dr. Bell,' says his biographer, 'adhered to it in his latter years too literally and too long.'

In the year 1774, having finished his education, he embarked for America, where, for the next five years, he appears to have been chiefly employed in tuition. In 1779 we find him a private tutor in the family of a wealthy merchant in Virginia, enjoying a salary of £200 a year, and, in accordance with what afterwards proved the ruling passion of his life, occupied at the same time in obtaining money, by collecting debts and other transactions in business. 'This part of his journal,' says the editor, 'is filled with memoranda of dealings in American currency and tobacco.'

In 1781 he set sail for England. The voyage was disastrous. Nine days after leaving York, the brig went on shore in lat. 45°. His journal of this event is brief, but graphic :—'An uninhabited country ; the cold and frost so intense that all safety is despaired of. Almost continual snow. Terrible prospect. Revised my accounts ; and, in expectation of death, devised what I had in my pocket-book, if human being should ever come this way. Snow for sixteen hours. Fair night, and most intensely cold. Observation 45° 50'. A fisher's tent seen in ruins to the south-west.'

Providentially, the severity of the weather abated ; a small boat passed along shore, and ultimately, after eighteen days' suffering, they reached Halifax in safety ; where, 'after a week of good weather,' he goes to church, and notes it down in his diary, 'infinitely superior to the meeting.' Here he embarked afresh, and in due time reached England in safety.

After remaining in London about five weeks, where, he says, 'sight-seeing and coach hire' cost him sometimes 'a guinea a day,' he visited Bath and Bristol, and then proceeded to Scotland, making his way 'sometimes on horseback, sometimes on foot, and sometimes by stage or other conveyance.' With the startling exception of a duel which he fought with an English student, and in which he endangered the lives of the seconds rather than that of his antagonist, his visit appears to have been passed tranquilly in the society of his old friends and acquaintances, and in the education of two Virginian youths who had been committed to his care.

About this time Dr. Berkeley (son of the bishop), with whom he had become acquainted at St. Andrews, 'encouraged him to take orders in the English church, and promised to render him all the good offices in his power.' By the aid of this kind and zealous friend he soon obtained ordination, and was shortly after elected minister of the Episcopal Chapel at Leith.

Dissatisfied with this position, and seeing no prospect of preferment, he now determined, by the advice of his friends, to go to India, thinking that 'he might turn his talents and acquirements to good account as a philosophical lecturer, and in the way of tuition.' Dr. Southey states that an influential friend (Mr. Dempster) 'omitting nothing that could contribute to Mr. Bell's success in India, thought it fitting that he should be dignified before he went out with a doctor's degree, and accordingly applied for one to the University of St. Andrews.' But from a letter addressed by Mr. Bell to Principal M'Cormick, which has recently been published in a Scotch newspaper, and of the existence of which his biographer was probably ignorant, it appears that the application was his own. 'I think it an object of considerable importance,' he says, 'to be distinguished with the honourable title of D.D.' And then he begs that it may be done as soon as possible, stating that his father has directions about the fees; and adding, with characteristic vanity, 'My mind is above my fortune and above my birth.' To his surprise and disappointment, the diploma granted was that of M.D., a designation of questionable value to one who had neither pursued nor studied the art of medicine.

On the 2nd of June, 1787, he reached Madras, where his reception was so good, that he abandoned his original intention of proceeding to Calcutta, and remained at Madras with the prospect of being speedily appointed to the charge of a military male orphan asylum which was about to be commenced.

The tide of fortune rapidly set in: within two months of his arrival he was appointed (subject to confirmation at home) Chaplain to the 4th European Regiment, then stationed at

Arcot. Nine days afterwards he was nominated to the deputy chaplainship of the 19th Regiment of Cavalry. In October he obtained a second deputy chaplainship to the 36th, then at Poonamalee; and on the day following to a third, in the 52nd Regiment. During this time he delivered a course of philosophical lectures, which produced him the sum of £360. A second course, only producing about one half of this amount, he sailed with his apparatus for Calcutta, where he experienced 'the most gratifying reception.' Lord Cornwallis invited him to his table, and allowed him the use of his court-house for his lectures. The course brought him nearly £500. 'In less than a month after his return to Madras he was appointed deputy chaplain to the 74th, being *the fifth* appointment conferred upon him in little more than a year and a half.' This was, indeed, to use his own phrase, found in an early letter, '*encouragement in the line of the church.*'

But even this was not enough. *Three* other appointments shortly followed, all of which were accepted by the greedy pluralist without compunction. 'Kehama,' says Dr. Southey, with quiet, but biting sarcasm, 'who was in eight places at once, was a type of Dr. Bell at this time. Some of these offices may have been sinecures; but there is good proof among his papers that none of them were sine-salaries.' One of the appointments, that of undertaker-general, was a strange one to be held by a clergyman, and 'curious' indeed are the 'instructions' drawn up by him, in his new character of furnisher of funerals, for the lower functionary who did all the work, and received from the doctor a graduated per centage on the cost of the interment.

Subsequently, the government of Madras and the Directors, were brought to see the unfitness of continuing such a state of things; but, alas, no one seems to have been at all affected by the iniquity involved in thus 'leaving the garrisons and corps destitute of religious ordinances.' The extent of this deprivation may be gathered from the following remarks, which occur in a letter from Colonel Floyd, then at Chevilimidoo. 'Come here,' he says; 'at your arrival you will find your flock disposed to follow whithersoever you shall lead. I am ashamed to say *I do not think I have either Bible or Prayer Book at this place*, and I cannot answer for it that anybody else has; so you will please to take your measures accordingly. We have one or two little ones that we mean to present to you for baptism.' Yet Colonel Floyd was not a thoughtless man. He writes: 'I am covered with confusion when I reflect to how little account I waste the fleeting hour. Others are idle too, but that is a shabby consolation. A man in truth lives but so many hours as he employs. What children many are who die of old age!'

Still not satisfied, the Doctor remembers Mrs. Berkeley's advice to 'plough with the heifer,' and writes to Lady Dacre, as well as to Mr. Dundas and Mr. Smith, earnestly soliciting them to procure his removal to Calcutta, 'and his appointment to the first vacant chaplainship at that settlement.' Mr. Smith excused himself on the score of illness. 'What other replies he received,' his biographer tells us, 'is not known.' 'Perhaps,' he adds, 'his patrons thought the solicitation as unreasonable, as in truth it was.'

The death of his father, of which he was informed by letter in 1789, affected him deeply. 'After trying in vain,' he says, in a letter to Dr. Adamson, 'to stand this shock, I have left my duty to my friend and colleague, Archdeacon Leslie, and returned to the country, where I am secluded from every European countenance. Here I am at leisure to indulge grief, and thereby to prevent its violent effusion; to survey my past life; to correct those errors that may have brought upon me such sufferings; and to lay down rules for my future conduct, from which, if I ever swerve, it must be from depravity of inclination, and not strength of temptation.'

In the spring of 1793, he delivered a third course of lectures at Madras, in one of which 'he performed the experiment of making ice, which was the first time it had been exhibited in India.' He had previously been elected a member of the Asiatic Society, and he now realized about 600 pagodas.

Scarcely had the lectures been concluded, before the governor in council appointed him 'to do duty as chaplain to the army assembled before Pondicherry, with an allowance of one hundred pagodas *per mensem*, to defray his extraordinary expenses while so employed. Here, (when not engaged in some of the mournful offices which he was called upon to perform,) 'his time passed pleasantly.' When the batteries were opened, he was rash enough to go into the trenches, and 'Colonel Floyd, who was the most intimate of his friends, when he took possession of the fort, ordered him to walk into it by his side.'

The expedition over, a new and altogether different scene now opens. The Military Orphan Asylum in Madras is at length established, and Dr. Bell offers his services as superintendent *without salary*, a step which some of his friends thought he had taken with 'far too little consideration of his own interest.' But the Doctor, wiser in his generation than they suspected, adhered to his own judgment, and declined receiving any compensation out of the subscription.

To this important work he devoted himself, with a zeal and assiduity highly creditable. Struggling manfully against the difficulties of his situation,—hindered rather than helped by

obstinate and incapable teachers,—distressed by the want of discipline, and painfully conscious of the unreasonable time consumed in imparting to the children a knowledge even of the letters of the alphabet, he pondered much and deeply on the perplexities of his position, and amid surrounding gloom, looked anxiously, but in vain, in all directions, for a single ray of light. Mr. Southey's words will best describe the breaking of the day.

'Things were in this state, when, happening on one of his morning rides to pass by a Malabar school, he observed the children seated on the ground, and writing with their fingers in sand, which had for that purpose been strewn before them. He hastened home, repeating to himself as he went, *Ευρηκα*, 'I have discovered it;' and gave immediate orders to the usher of the lowest classes to teach the alphabet in the same manner, with this difference only from the Malabar mode, that the sand was strewn upon a board. These orders were either disregarded, or so carelessly executed, as if they were thought not worth regarding; and after frequent admonitions, and repeated trials made without either expectation or wish of succeeding, the usher at last declared it was impossible to teach the boys in that way. If he had acted on this occasion in good will, and with merely common ability, Dr. Bell might never have cried *Ευρηκα* a second time. But he was not a man to be turned from his purpose by the obstinacy of others, nor to be baffled in it by their incapacity; baffled, however, he was now sensible that he must be, if he depended for the execution of his plans on the will and ability of those over whose minds he had no command. He bethought himself of employing a boy, on whose obedience, disposition, and cleverness he could rely, and giving him charge of the alphabet class. The lad's name was John Friskin; he was the son of a private soldier, had learned his letters in the asylum, and was then about eight years old. Dr. Bell laid the strongest injunctions upon him to follow his instructions; saying, he should look to him for the success of the simple and easy method which was to be pursued, and hold him responsible for it. What the usher had pronounced to be impossible, this lad succeeded in effecting without any difficulty. The alphabet was now as much better taught, as till then it had been worse than any other part of the boys' studies; and Friskin, in consequence, was appointed permanent teacher of that class.

'Though Dr. Bell did not immediately perceive the whole importance of this successful experiment, he proceeded in the course into which he had been as it were compelled. What Friskin had accomplished with the alphabet class, might, in like manner, be done with those next in order, by boys selected as he had been, for their aptitude to learn and to teach. Accordingly, he appointed boys as assistant teachers to some of the lower classes, giving, however, to Friskin the charge of superintending both the assistants and their classes, because of his experience and the readiness with which he apprehended and executed whatever was required from him. This

talent, indeed, the lad possessed in such perfection, that Dr. Bell did not hesitate to throw upon him the entire responsibility of this part of the school. The same improvement was now manifested in these classes as had taken place in teaching the alphabet. This he attributed to the diligence and fidelity with which his little friends, as he used to call them, performed his orders. To them a smile of approbation was no mean reward, and a look of displeasure sufficient punishment. Even in this stage he felt confident, that nothing more was wanting to bring the school into such a state as he had always proposed to himself, than to carry through the whole of the plan upon which he was now proceeding; and this, accordingly, was done. The experiment, which from necessity had been tried at first with one class, was systematically extended to all the others in progression; and what is most important with scholastic improvement, moral improvement, not less in consequence of the system, is said to have kept pace. For the assistant teachers, being invested with authority, not because of their standing in the school, retained their influence at all times, and it was their business to interpose whenever their interference was necessary; such interference prevented all that tyranny and ill-usage from which so much of the evil connected with boarding-schools arises; and all that mischief in which some boys are engaged by a mischievous disposition, more by mere wantonness, and a still greater number by the example of their companions. The boys were thus rendered inoffensive towards others, and among themselves; and this gentle preventive discipline made them, in its sure consequences, contented and happy. A boy was appointed over each class to marshal them when they went to church or walked out, and to see that they duly performed the operations of combing and washing themselves. Ten boys were appointed daily to clean the school room, and to wait upon the others at their meals. Twice a week during the hot season, and once a week during the monsoon season, they were marched by an usher to the tank, and there they bathed by classes.

'As to any purposes of instruction, the master and ushers were now virtually superseded. They attended the school so as to maintain the observance of the rules; though even this was scarcely necessary under Dr. Bell's vigilant superintendence, who now made the school the great pleasure as well as the great business of his life. Their duty was, not to teach, but to look after the various departments of the institution, to see that the daily tasks were performed, to take care of the boys in and out of school, and to mark any irregularity or neglect either in them or the teachers.'

His letters to his friends from this time (1792) until his return to Europe, which took place, in consequence of the failure of his health, in 1796, are filled with accounts of the school, which now engrossed all his thoughts. From these it clearly appears, that he considered the main principle of his system to be, 'tuition by the scholars themselves, or, as it was

afterwards called, mutual instruction,' and that he had carried this principle so fully into action, that 'the whole business of instruction was for a time carried on exclusively by the boys themselves.'*

While, however, we freely admit thus much, we can by no means allow the claim subsequently made on his behalf, that he was as much the *discoverer* of the principle of conducting a school by means of the scholars themselves, 'as Franklin was of electricity, or Jenner of vaccination.' The chevalier Paulet had certainly preceded him. In the *Literary Repository* for April 16th, 1788, there is an account of the establishment of this celebrated man in Paris, translated from the *Journal of Geneva*. Two principles are there distinctly laid down as carried out in his school. One is, that 'the pupils govern themselves;' the other, that 'the care of instruction is to a great extent devolved upon the scholars.' A president of the parliament of Bordeaux, who was visiting this institution, was, it is said, so much struck with the abilities of a scholar of fourteen, in instructing his class, that he engaged him as tutor to his son, a boy of eight years old. Similar details abundantly shew that fifteen years before the Madras Asylum was instituted, the principle of mutual instruction was both known and practised. There is, however, no reason to suppose that Dr. Bell was at all acquainted with this experiment. His plans were unquestionably his own.

He now turned a longing eye towards England. How long he should stay, and with *how much* money he should be satisfied, are questions frequently occurring in the correspondence. 'Bring a good constitution, and £10,000 with you,' says his friend Mr. Dempster, 'and you wont desire to return from wanting the comforts of life.' 'Single gentlemen,' writes Mr. Ames, 'may certainly be comfortable upon £500 per annum, but if a family is in view, double that income will be necessary.' But the Doctor again looked further than his friends. 'Say,' he writes to Mrs. Cockburn, 'what *the living in the church* should be, to induce a man to forego India?' The reply is not

* Dr. Bell's philosophical apparatus having been purchased by the government of Madras for the purpose of being presented to Tippoo Sultan, Smith, one of the boys of the asylum who had occasionally assisted the Dr. in his experiments, was appointed to take charge of it on the road, and to exhibit before the sultan. Tippoo was found to possess more knowledge of this kind than was supposed. 'He exhibited a condensing engine of his own making, which spouted water higher than Smith's,' he 'understood the management of the electrical machine;' and instead of regarding the experiments as mere amusements, he immediately sought to make the apparatus available for the introduction of useful knowledge among his people.

given. He sailed for England on the 20th of August, 1796, having accumulated, according to his own carefully drawn account, £25,935 16s. 5d., a tolerable reward for nine years' clerical service in India, and a convincing proof that he had not sought in vain for 'encouragement in the line of the church.' After this it seems scarcely necessary to parade his disinterestedness in declining a passage home at the expense of the charity.

On his arrival in London, Dr. Bell lost no time in communicating with the India House, but began at once to take measures for securing a retiring allowance from the East India Company. He first of all consulted Mr. David Scott, the chairman, and wrote to his early friend, Mr. Dempster, to request his interest. Mr. Dempster's reply does him great credit. 'I have,' he says, 'as little interest as you with Mr. Scott. The very little I have I would rather reserve to help the helpless, than expend in adding more rupees to the enormous heap you have brought home with you.' 'Nothing daunted by this rebuff,' says his biographer, 'he proceeded to draw up a memorial, addressed to the Court of Directors,' in which he set forth, in strong colours, the extraordinary success which had attended his labours in the asylum, ascribing it entirely (on the authority of the Madras government) to his new system, and '*to the disinterested conduct he had shown* in refusing, while so employed, to accept any salary.' After a few months effort, he succeeded in obtaining a pension of £200 per annum.

He now (1797) printed a report of the asylum, which he entitled, 'An Experiment in Education made at the male asylum at Madras, suggesting a system by which a School or Family may teach itself under the superintendence of a Master or Parent.' This pamphlet he recommended by letter to the attention of David Dale at Lanark; he sent copies to many influential persons in different parts of the kingdom: he attempted to introduce his plan into various schools both in England and Scotland; and in one of his letters to the printer, he says:—'You will mark me for an enthusiast, but if you and I live a thousand years, we shall see this system of education spread over the world.'

On the 3rd of November, 1800, he married Miss Agnes Barclay, eldest daughter of the Rev. Dr. Barclay, of Middleton; and, in 1801, 'he received and accepted the offer of the rectory of Swanage, in Dorset, from the patron, Mr. Calcraft, with whom he had not been previously acquainted.' With his wife he appears to have received £7,500; the value of his living, including the patronage of the parish of Worth, was at least £800 per annum; his pension from the East India Company

was £200 per annum; and his Indian spoil was £25,935. Early in December (1801), he took possession of his preferment, and preached his first sermon on Christmas Day; having by this time, one would think, reason to be abundantly satisfied with 'the encouragement' he had met with 'in the line of the church.'

Leaving for awhile the good Doctor thus comfortably provided for, we turn to contemplate another and very different character, whose name, now first noised abroad, was destined, strangely enough, to descend to posterity, side by side, with that of Dr. Bell.

JOSEPH LANCASTER was born in Kent Street, Southwark, on the 27th of November, 1778. His father was a Chelsea pensioner, who had served in the British army during the American war. To the pious example and early instruction of his parents he always attributed, under the divine blessing, any acquaintance he possessed with the power of religion. 'My first impressions,' he says, 'of the beauty of the christian religion were received from their instructions.' There is a touching beauty in his own account of himself as a little child, retiring to a corner, repeating the name of Jesus, and as often reverently bowing to it. 'I seemed to feel,' he says, 'that it was the name of one I loved, and to whom my heart performed reverence. I departed from my retirement well satisfied with what I had been doing, and I never remembered it but with delight.' This little incident was an epitome of the man, and, inconsistent as it may seem to be with his future religious profession as a member of the Society of Friends, it truly shadowed forth the enthusiastic, not to say passionate feeling, which through life so eminently characterized him.

At the early age of eight years he was pondering the Gospels in secret retirement and delight, his heart 'filled with love and devotion to God,' with 'breathings of good-will to the human race,' and with 'desires to devote his life to the service of God.' At fourteen, Clarkson's Essay on the Slave Trade came in his way, and alone, and without taking counsel of any one, he determined to go to Jamaica, to teach the poor blacks to read the word of God. Mr. Corston's narrative of this adventure is so brief and simple that it scarcely admits of condensation:—

'With a view to accomplish his purpose, he left home for Bristol, without the knowledge of his parents, having only a bible, Pilgrim's Progress, and a few shillings in his pocket. The first night he slept under a hedge, and the next under a hay-stack. On his journey, he fell in with a mechanic who was likewise going to Bristol. They

walked together; and as Joseph's money was all expended, his companion sustained him. On arriving at his destination, he was pennyless, and almost shoeless. He entered himself as a volunteer: and was sent to Milford Haven the next morning. On board he was at first the object of much ridicule, and was contemptuously styled *parson*. The captain being absent one day, the officers asked him if he would preach them a sermon. He replied, 'Yes; if you will give me leave to go below for half an hour to read my bible.' They said, 'O certainly, an hour if you choose.' When he came up, there was a cask placed upon deck, and the ship's company were all assembled. Having placed him upon the cask he proceeded to lecture them upon their habits of profane swearing, drunkenness, &c., at first much to their mirth and amusement; but after a little they began to droop their heads, when he told them if they would leave off these wretched practices, repent, and turn to the Lord, they might still be happy here and happy hereafter. After this sermon, he was treated kindly—no one was suffered to laugh at him, or use him ill, during the three weeks he remained on board.

'His return home to his parents was occasioned as follows:—a dissenting minister at Clapham, happening to call in at his mother's shop, found her weeping, and in great distress. On his kindly asking the cause, she informed him that her child had left home, and she knew not what was become of him. He endeavoured to pacify and comfort her with the hope that the Lord would restore him to her; and then enquired where she thought he was gone. She replied,—'Why we think to the West Indies. He has felt much and talked much about the poor Blacks lately, from having read Mr. Clarkson's book about them.' 'O come, my good woman,' he rejoined, 'take comfort. I am intimate with the captain of the Port Admiral's ship, at Plymouth. I live at Clapham. Should you hear of your son, let me know.' In about three weeks, a letter was received from Joseph—his parents informed the minister—he wrote to the captain—and Joseph was soon sent home with a new suit of clothes, money in his pocket, and his carriage paid by coach.—pp. 2, 3.

Between this period, and that of his attaining the age of eighteen, he seems to have been an assistant at two schools, one a boarding, the other a day school; and thus, as he afterwards states in a letter to Dr. Bell, he became acquainted with all the defects attendant on the old system of tuition in both kinds of schools. At eighteen he commenced teaching on his own account in his father's house, and the following description of the undertaking, extracted from an old report of the Borough Road School, is from his own pen. It refers to the year 1798.

'The undertaking was begun under the hospitable roof of an affectionate parent: my father gave the school-room rent free, and, after fitting up the forms and desks myself, I had the pleasure, before I was eighteen, of having near ninety children under instruction, many of

whom I educated free of expense. As the number of scholars continued to increase I soon had occasion to rent larger premises.

'A season of scarcity brought the wants of poor families closely under my notice: at this time a number of very liberal persons enabled me to *feed* the hungry children. In the course of this happy exertion, I became intimately acquainted with the state of many industrious poor families, whose necessities had prevented the payment of the small price of their children's tuition, some of whom had accumulated arrears for many weeks. In every such case I remitted the arrears and continued the children's instruction free of expense.

'The state of the poor, combined with the feelings of my mind, had now blended the pay school with a free school. Two benevolent private friends had been in the habit of paying for five or six poor children at the low price I had fixed as the assize of education or mental bread for my neighbourhood. I easily induced these friends to place the money they gave, *as pay*, in the form of a subscription.'—pp. 6, 7.

On the outside of his school-room he placed the following printed notice:—'All that will, may send their children and have them educated freely; and those that do not wish to have education for nothing, may pay for it if they please.' This filled his school; but, as might have been expected, left his income scarcely adequate to his own board and comforts.

As the number of his pupils increased, a new school-room became necessary. It was provided, chiefly through the benevolent aid of the late Duke of Bedford and Lord Somerville, 'who,' says Lancaster, 'appeared to be sent by Providence to open wide before me the portals of usefulness for the good of the poor.' 'The children,' he adds, 'now came in for education like flocks of sheep; and the number so greatly increased, as to place me in that state which is the mother of invention. The old plan of education, in which I had been hitherto conversant, was daily proved inadequate to the purposes of instruction on a large scale. In every respect *I had to explore a new and untrodden path*. My continual endeavours have been happily crowned with success.'

The question now arises, and it is an important one, in reference to *character*,—did Lancaster believe at this time, that he was, 'in deed and in truth,' exploring a new and untrodden path; or, was he well aware that he was only walking in the footsteps of another? The *fact* is undoubted, that he was now managing a thousand children, aided only by boys acting as monitors. The point in dispute is, whether he was doing this by methods of his own devising, or, whether, as Mr. Southey harshly expresses it, 'deriving from Dr. Bell his knowledge of

the system, he claimed for himself with consummate effrontery, the honour of the invention?' We can only say for ourselves that, after carefully perusing all the evidence that has been offered in support of this frequently repeated charge, we see no reason whatever to believe, that Lancaster was guilty of acting the base and unprincipled part attributed to him; and believing this, we cannot but severely blame those who have accused him so harshly and so rashly.

The truth is, so far as we have been able to ascertain it, that both Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster were, to a certain extent, inventors, and *both*, to a much larger extent, adopters and improvers of existing plans. Pressed by the same difficulties as Dr. Bell, and like him, familiar with military tactics, Lancaster appears, without being conscious of it, to have resorted to the same expedient. Inspired by equal, if not superior energy, he seems to have produced the same result. Excited by similar success, and perhaps inflamed by like vanity, he imitated his predecessor in magnifying the importance of his method, and in claiming an amount of merit *as a discoverer* which, to say the least of it, was preposterous and absurd. But that he was 'fraudulent,' 'dishonest,' 'tricky,' and 'immoral,' or, as Coleridge expresses it, that he was 'a wretched quack,' 'a liar,' 'an ignorant, vulgar, arrogant charlatan,' we do not for a moment believe. Whatever were the faults of his maturer years, his early life was that of a sincere, humble, and disinterested christian.

Lancaster's own account of the matter, given in a letter to Dr. Bell, dated Nov. 21st, 1804, carries with it all the appearance of truthfulness and integrity; and as at that time he was corresponding with the doctor as a friend, was proposing to visit him at Swanage, was asking his advice, and soliciting his aid, there seems no reason for supposing that he would do otherwise than express himself with straightforwardness and simplicity. He thus writes:—

'I began a day school (in 1798). The methods I pursued soon became popular, and people sent their children in crowds. This plunged me into a dilemma; the common modes of tuition did not apply; and in puzzling myself what to do, *I stumbled upon a plan similar to thine*; not, however, meeting with thy book till 1800. I have since succeeded wonderfully, yet not equal to my desire. If thou wilt favour me with any original reports of the asylum at Madras, for nothing is more essential than minutiae, I should be much obliged.'

Now let it be borne in mind, that at this time Mr. Lancaster's pretensions were not concealed; that for some years he had been claiming through the press, to be *the inventor* of his 'improvements in education,' that in doing this, he had referred

distinctly and by name to Dr. Bell, recommending his book to the friends of education, acknowledging without reserve the value of 'several useful hints' he had adopted from it, and stating, that in some things he had 'been endeavouring to walk in his footsteps,' and then let any candid person say whether, if Dr. Bell had regarded him as a mere plagiarist, he would not have availed himself of the opportunity afforded by the receipt of this letter, to unmask his hypocrisy and to expose his pretensions?

The editor says, 'It does not appear what answer Dr. Bell returned to this letter.' As the original reply is now before us, we can supply the deficiency. It shall speak for itself.

Swanage, 6th Decr., 1804.

'DEAR FRIEND.—I was yesterday favoured with your letter, and the outlines, &c. I had before heard of your fame, and the progress which you had made in a new mode of tuition, and have long expected the pleasure of seeing you at Swanage, and, though your letter does not promise me a speedy accomplishment of this expectation, still I shall hope that you will fulfil your intention as soon as shall suit your conveniency.

'When I put my Essay on the A. B. C. into the hands of my bookseller I said (with the apology suited to such enthusiasm,) that 'before the end of the next century every school in Europe would be taught on this principle.' I was pleased to see it some time ago acted upon and recited in the reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor, and am delighted to hear that in the beginning of the century you have afforded such a specimen of the success of this system. I am fully sensible of the many disadvantages which you have to encounter, and as recounted by you they are, for the most part, such as I could have foreseen. I shall endeavour to find my original reports at Madras, that I may communicate them; but you will not meet with the details which you expect in them, as they were presented to those who had daily opportunities of seeing the seminary. Nor can I pretend to recite a thousand particulars by letters which I could do *viva voce*, and which I hope to do soon in thy school, which I promise myself much pleasure in attending when I am next in town.'

After answering some questions which Lancaster had put relative to his mode of selecting monitors, and of preparing sand for the alphabet classes, he proceeds;—

'I have been strongly urged to publish a brief extract of my essay for general circulation. Now, you will do me a kindness by taking a copy of my publication, and drawing your pen through every line which you think might be spared, without any essential defect of information, taking care to efface whatever is not necessary to give an idea of the system of instruction. By this means I apprehend the pamphlet may be reduced to a very few pages. At the same time I shall be glad of any observations which you may see fit to make, and

particularly whether any part is difficult to be understood, and where you think a fuller explanation necessary.

‘In this way I may have an opportunity of recommending your institution, more general and more effectual than any other I could propose. For this purpose I must see every thing with my own eyes, and by hearing of your difficulties I shall best know what requisite information I omitted in the report of my system which does not comprehend more than the general principle and outlines of the mode of tuition. At all events I shall trust to your erasing every thing which can possibly be left out in my publication as not bearing upon the elucidation of the system, but which I thought it necessary to insert in the first publication for this reason.

‘My success in this new mode so far surpassed my expectations, and appeared so wonderful to those who witnessed it, that I was often told the report would not gain credit in Europe. On that account it appeared absolutely requisite to give authentic documents to prove the reality of the facts recorded, and this was the main object in introducing the system to the world. Without ascertaining the facts I expected little attention to the system, which I imagined would be by most people ranked amongst those novel and delusive theories which often appear on the stage of existence, only to vanish for ever. It is now time to give circulation to the system itself, in a manner calculated for general use, and unencumbered of every thing foreign to its elucidation and demonstration.

‘I take the liberty to make this request to you, the only person to whom I have applied, and whom I have been induced to apply to in consequence of your letter, the object of which I suppose can be best forwarded in this manner; and, because I consider, that to one who has matured the subject of these communications as you have done, and had such experience, it will cost no trouble to expunge such parts of my publication, as does not go to the explanation of the system; and, as it is a far easier task for any person, master of the subject, to do this than the writer, whose mind is often warped by prejudices unknown and unfelt by himself. How far mine is so, I shall know from your communication compared with my own ideas.

‘Let me once more mention my purpose, to discard as much as can possibly be parted with, so as not to injure the explanations of the system. The object of my original publication was not merely to narrate the outline of an experiment, but also duly to authenticate the facts by which the experiment was proved to be successful, in order to hold out grounds for others to give it a further trial, and to correct and improve my system, which I am confident will admit of many alterations and amendments; but which alterations and amendments will only occur to some rare genius, if he has no experimental practice, or to those who like you are engaged in similar attempts, and in a situation widely different from that in which I was placed; and, under circumstances, many of which you have detailed, that do not admit of the same practices, and which require an alteration suited to the situation, circumstances, genius of the nation, and condition of the youth.

‘When I began this letter I meant only to acknowledge your acceptable communication, to request the favour of a visit from a friend with whom I can indulge and revive my old favourite pursuits, almost forgotten in this insulated situation in which I am placed, and to say, I would not fail to visit your institution as soon as I can make it convenient to be in London. When this will be I cannot at present say, but your letter has revived and renovated old ideas, and I have written as to an old friend. I dare not venture to read over this long and hasty scrawl, lest I should treat it as I wish you to do the experiment—reduce it to a few lines.

‘I am anxious to see your book, and still more to see yourself; and remain, my good friend, your sincere well wisher,

‘A. BELL.’

‘Be pleased to send my experiments, which I trust to your goodness to erase as proposed—by two-penny post, under cover to John McTaggart, Esq., Scot’s Yard, London, whom I expect soon to see at Swanage. Scot’s Yard, is in Bush Lane, Cannon Street, near the Exchange.’

Lancaster shortly afterwards visited Dr. Bell at Swanage; he remained there several days, and seems to have been pleased with his visit. A year afterwards, Dr. Bell, in writing to Mrs. Trimmer, smiles at the absurdity of his attempts ‘to form teachers by lectures on the passions,’—a thing he never pretended to do,—and observes, sensibly enough, that ‘it is by attending the school, seeing what is going on there, and taking a share in the office of tuition, that teachers are to be formed, and not by lectures and abstract instruction;’ but he finds no fault with Lancaster beyond this,—that he ‘solicited’ his ‘subscription oftener than once,’ ‘which,’ says the Doctor, ‘I flatly declined;’ not, however, on the ground of his acting unfairly, but simply for this reason,—that he had determined to confine his offices to the schools under his own immediate eye.

Mrs. Trimmer seems to have been the first to suggest the idea of Lancaster’s criminality, and the motive is but too obvious. Her letter is dated ‘Brentford, Sept. 24th, 1805,’ in which, after informing him of her intention to insert some extracts from his ‘Experiment on Education,’ in a periodical she was publishing, she adds,—

‘From the time, sir, that I read Mr. Joseph Lancaster’s ‘Improvements in Education,’ in the first edition, I conceived an idea that there was something in his plan that was inimical to the interests of the established church; and when I read your ‘Experiment in Education,’ to which Mr. L. referred, I plainly perceived he had been building on your foundation. You know, without doubt, how the public mind is, I may say, infatuated with his plausible appearances, and I judge, by the republication of your ‘Experiment,’ that you are not an unconcerned spectator of this perversion of what you have

applied to so excellent a purpose. Engaged as I have long been, in striving to promote the interests of the church, by the exertion of my little talents for the instruction of the rising generation, and the prevention of the mischief that is aimed against them in various ways, I cannot see this 'Goliath of Schismatics' bearing down all before him, and engrossing the instruction of the common people, without attempting to give him a little check. Indeed, I told him a year ago, that I should, at my first leisure, attempt to analyse his system, and this I shall soon set about. But, preparatory to it, I thought it might answer a good purpose to point out in an incidental way, by means of a review of your work, that Mr. Lancaster was not the original inventor of the plan. If the sale of your pamphlet is extensive, I may, perhaps, have done what was unnecessary; but, knowing my motive, you will not think me impertinent.

'I have the honour to be, rev. sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

'SARAH TRIMMER.'

To this letter Dr. Bell replies in a style unworthy of himself, and altogether unlike his former communication. Mrs. Trimmer's letter, although the production of a sensible and christian woman, was jesuitical; it was all but an avowal that she was about 'to do evil that good might come.' It was to Dr. Bell, 'Satan in the guise of an angel of light.' It found 'something' in him that responded to its evil suggestions. It awoke slumbering jealousy and pride, and it drew from him the following pitiful remarks on the character and conduct of his last year's guest.

'During his stay with me, which was of some days' continuance, I detailed many particulars of my practice, and many opinions on the conduct of a school, with which he was in some points totally unacquainted. I observed his consummate front, his importunate solicitation of subscriptions in any and every shape, his plausible and ostentatious guise; and, in his third edition, I think I see something which indicates that he is confident he cannot stand alone, basking in the sunshine of royal countenance and popular applause, forgetting, for a while, his own presentiment, 'That, as much as he is cried up, so much will he be hereafter traduced.'

'The plan of instruction in a public charity, by teachers, assistants, tutors, as I have styled them—or, monitors, as he denominated them—appears to me, who am an enthusiast, so simple, so natural, so beautiful, and so true, that it must sooner or later have obtained a footing; and all I ever expected by my humble essay, printed rather than published, was, that it might fall into hands which would bring the system forward sooner than might otherwise happen in the course of things. J. L. has certainly contributed to this consummation. How far he has directed it to the best purposes, and whether he has intermixed much quackery, conceit, and ignorance, is another question.'

In her next letter, Mrs. Trimmer gives 'a more particular

account of the mode of proceeding which she proposes to adopt, in her intended work on Lancaster,' and, we confess we want language to express the ineffable disgust with which some portions of that letter has inspired us. Lancaster's faults! They were as motes in the sun-beam when compared with the *mean-ness* of his calumniators. She thus writes :—

'Of all the plans that have appeared in this kingdom likely to supplant the church, Mr. Lancaster's seems to me the most formidable. I will not say that he has any ill *intentions*; but his plan is favourable, in an eminent degree, to those who may have, and after what I have read in the 'Abbé Barruel's Memoirs of the History of Jacobinism, concerning the use made by the Illuminati in Germany, &c.' of schoolmasters and schoolbooks, I cannot but view with a very jealous eye a system which proceeds upon the same *generalizing* plan, which has been resorted to so fatally against the interests of *revealed religion* on the continent. As you condescend to read my 'Guardian of Education,' I beg leave to refer you to vol. i. p. 21, where you will find a translation from a work of an excellent man, M. De Luc, who gives there the history of the origin of the philanthropines, which have done so much mischief; the consequences of which you will see in a translation from the same author, in the number of the 'Guardian' which I have the honour to send you, (*viz.* M. De Luc's letter.) Mr. Joseph Lancaster's school is, in my estimation, a direct philanthropine, and he has seized upon your admirable plan of instruction, as an engine to give it a speed, and a consequence, which he could by no other means have obtained without it.

'He certainly has brought your excellent plan forward; and had I the power, I certainly should not have *the wish* to do any thing that should have a tendency to stop the progress of it, nor would I deprive Lancaster himself of the merit of having brought it into operation in this country; because he may really be considered, so far at least, as an instrument of good, if he prepares the first teachers of this kind, provided they are under proper inspection and controul afterwards. But as for his *central school* and his *organized plans to educate the whole body of the common people, without any regard to the religion of the nation*, I will certainly do my utmost to check him there, in hopes that others of more ability than myself will be roused. And this is the way I mean to proceed; I will give him all possible credit for the utility of his mode of instruction in reading, writing, &c., if I mention Dr. Bell it will probably be *incidentally only*; or I may even say, 'That, in some respects, J. Lancaster has improved upon your plan.' I will urge the admission of Lancaster's plan into all charity schools, &c., *under certain limitations*. In short, I will strive to write so that his numerous subscribers may not think I mean to attach blame *to them* for the patronage they have given him; which indeed is not properly given *to him*, but *unknowingly* to the *inventor* of the plan. Having done this, I mean to show what the education of the lower orders ought to be in respect to religion and morality, and

the necessity there is for giving them *sound principles* in their early years. I shall then examine Mr. Lancaster's system of morals and religion, as displayed in his different pamphlets, and speak boldly in defence of the provision made for the proper instruction of the young members of the church and state, by the *Act of Uniformity*. Perhaps I may venture to show, from authentic documents, the effect of such a generalizing plan as Mr. Lancaster's on the continent, &c.

* * * * *

'A few days ago, my sons, who have among their works a manufactory for tiles, received a letter from him, desiring to have some for his new building I suppose, or rather the extension of his school in the Borough. His seal carried the impression of PEACE! It is a curious fact that he was not originally a quaker, but an anabaptist, intended by his father (who is a preacher himself in this town) for what they call a *minister*. Whether he changed for the love of a pretty quaker, whom he married, or whether the *broadbrim* was the best cover for his scheme, I cannot say; but certainly, in the *quaker-habit*, (from the too liberal indulgences of our church and state to that *humbly supercilious* sect), he may take liberties, and press forward to notice, more than a member of the establishment could do, even with the same degree of effrontery. I was told by one, to whom he boasted of it, that, at his first interview with his sovereign, he stood with his hat upon his head and made a long oration, while his Majesty remained condescendingly *uncovered*, or at least holding his hat above his head.'

Dr. Bell, thus afresh and more deeply excited by poison so insidiously conveyed, again writes in a tone every way disgraceful to him. He is acknowledging the receipt of Mrs. Trimmer's book.

'You have achieved a work of great national importance. J. L. would not have been unmasked for years but for you. Ever since I conversed with him, and read some of his familiar letters, I have suspected that he has much assistance in his published works of every kind. He is illiterate and ignorant, with a brazen front, consummate assurance, and the most artful and plausible address, not without ability and ingenuity, heightened in its effects under the Quaker's guise. His account of his family in unguarded moments—Dissenters, Roman Catholics, Infidels—is most extraordinary. While I am writing I am favoured with yours of the 10th, and rejoice exceedingly in the debut which your admirable production has made. The great defects of J. L.'s system are detected with such perspicuity, as must carry conviction to every son of the church; and you have gone a great way to show his want of originality, which may easily be followed up.'

And yet this very man had, only two short months before, admitted to the same correspondent, that Lancaster 'displayed *much originality*,' both in the application of the monitorial system, and in *his individual improvements*. We shall say no

more on this long since deceased controversy; less we could not refrain from stating, in justice to the memory of an ill-used and calumniated man.

With renewed pleasure we now resume the narrative of Lancaster's *progress*, associated as his efforts ever must be with the subsequent spread of knowledge, the growth and enlargement of the popular mind, and the moral and intellectual improvement of the labouring classes of society in these realms. Even his enemies were constrained to allow, (no mean praise) that to him,—to his 'zeal, ingenuity and perseverance,' were to be attributed the awakening of the public mind to the duty of caring for the instruction of the poor, and the exhibition of an agency by which it could be promptly, economically, and efficiently accomplished.

We left him busy in the new room for which he was mainly indebted to the late Duke of Bedford—a thousand children daily gathering for instruction, and a few friends supporting him by their annual subscriptions. Nothing can be more beautiful than the account given of his position and character at this time. He was always domesticated with his pupils. In their play hours he was their companion and their friend. He accompanied them in bands of two, three, and (on one occasion) of five hundred at once, to the environs of London for amusement and instruction.

Nor did he care only for their intellectual necessities. Distress and privation were abroad;—he raised contributions, went to market, and between the intervals of school presided at dinner with sixty or eighty of the most needy of his flock. 'The character of benefactor he scarce thought about; it was absorbed in that of teacher and friend. On Sunday evenings he would have large companies of pupils to tea, and after mutually enjoying a very pleasant intercourse, would conclude with reading a portion of the sacred writings in a reverential manner. Some of the pupils would vary the exercise occasionally by reading select pieces of religious poetry, and their teacher would at times add such advice and observations, as the conduct of individuals, or the beauty and importance of the subject required. Is it any wonder that with pupils so trained, to whom so many endearing occasions presented, evidences should abound of affection, docility and improvement? In them he had many ready co-operators, and, however incapable of forming designs, never were agents more prompt and willing to execute.' These were his best and most joyous days. Happy would it have been for him, though certainly not for mankind, had he never emerged from this scene of humble quiet usefulness, into

the turbulence of a world, which distracted him by its excitement, injured him by its praise, and finally cast him off, for faults of which itself had been the parent.

He was now rapidly becoming an object of public attention. His school-room was visited by 'foreign princes, ambassadors, peers, commoners, ladies of distinction, bishops and archbishops;' his publications were passing rapidly through editions, each larger than its predecessor: his school, ably and zealously conducted by youths trained under his own eye, and imbued with his own enthusiastic spirit, was forsaken for lectures in all the principal towns of the kingdom, in every part of which he was received with the most marked and flattering attentions from all classes; even the monarch did not disdain to admit him, uncovered to his presence, but sustained, encouraged and applauded him. The interview which took place at Weymouth in 1805, is described by Mr. Corston, and is too characteristic to be omitted.

'On entering the royal presence, the king said:—'Lancaster, I have sent for you to give me an account of your System of Education, which I hear has met with opposition. One master teach five hundred children at the same time! How do you keep them in order, Lancaster?' Lancaster replied, 'Please thy majesty, by the same principle thy majesty's army is kept in order—by the word of command.' His majesty replied, 'Good, good; it does not require an aged general to give the command—one of youngeryears can do it.' Lancaster observed, that in his schools, the teaching branch was performed by youths who acted as young monitors. The king assented, and said, 'Good.' Lancaster then described his system; and he informed me, that they all paid great attention, and were highly delighted, and as soon as he had finished, his majesty said:—'Lancaster, I highly approve of your system, and it is my wish that every poor child in my dominions should be taught to read the bible; I will do any thing you wish to promote this object.' 'Please thy majesty,' said Lancaster; 'if the system meets thy majesty's approbation, I can go through the country and lecture on the system, and have no doubt, but in a few months, I shall be able to give thy majesty an account where ten thousand poor children are being educated, and some of my youths instructing them.' His majesty immediately replied:—'Lancaster, I will subscribe £100 annually; and,' addressing the queen, 'you shall subscribe £50, Charlotte; and the princesses, £25 each; and then added, 'Lancaster, you may have the money directly.' Lancaster observed:—'Please thy majesty, that will be setting thy nobles a good example.' The royal party appeared to smile at this observation; but the Queen observed to his majesty—'How cruel it is that enemies should be found who endeavour to hinder his progress in so good a work.' To which the king replied:—'Charlotte, a good man seeks his reward in the world to come.' Joseph then withdrew.

At this time money appeared to him to be flowing in, in a perpetual stream. Unaccustomed to its management, and ignorant of its value, he expended it with thoughtless profusion, if not with sinful extravagance. He was, in fact, at this period in so high a state of excitement as to be totally unfit to manage his pecuniary affairs. 'The day after to-morrow,' he writes from the country to a friend, 'is my birth-day. I am nine and twenty. I wish *all my children* to have a plumb-pudding and roast beef; do order it for them, and spend a happy hour in the evening with them, as thou didst this time last year, in my absence in Ireland; *furnish them with money*, and when the good Samaritan comes again he will repay thee.' And so he went on. Yet, as might be expected, not without many severe trials and struggles. A faithful and valued friend, still living, who never forsook him either in evil report or good report, and to whom he was largely indebted through life for pecuniary aid, has related to us his own singular introduction to him, which took place about this time. Having heard of Lancaster and his system, he says:—'I called at his school to inquire about the training of a teacher, and after some conversation relating to the necessary arrangements for the man's attendance, I slipped a ten-pound note into his hand as an acknowledgment of my obligations. What was my astonishment to see this quiet man, with whom I had a moment before been calmly conversing, at once turn pale, tremble, stand fixed as a statue, and then, flinging himself upon my shoulder, burst into a flood of tears, exclaiming, 'Friend, thou knewest it not, but God hath sent thee to keep me from a gaol, and to preserve my system from ruin!'

And this was the state in which he lived for years,—excited, enthusiastic, the creature of impulse and passion,—his zeal 'eating him up,' his judgment weak and oftentimes perverted. His letters to his friend Corston, without doubt, faithfully reveal the 'inner man,' and they are always excited, imaginative, and passionate, sometimes enlivened by a tinge of humour oddly contrasting with depression and melancholy. The alternations of hope and fear in his mind are here seen to be rapid and powerful. Yesterday, 'bile, fatigue and grief overwhelm' him; to day, he has 'the valley of Achor for a door of hope.' At one time, the 'iron hand of affliction and sorrow is upon him,' and he is 'throwing himself at the footstool of his Saviour and his God, pleading his promises, pleading his fulness, pleading his wants, and *there* resolving to succeed or perish.' At another time, he is exalted, 'telling the high and mighty ones that the decree of heaven hath gone forth, that the poor youth of these nations shall be educated, and it is out of the power of man to

reverse it.' One day, he is 'peaceful and resigned,' feeling that he is 'sent into the world to do and to suffer the will of God,' and welcoming 'sufferings and the cross as the path the Saviour trod.' The next, he is shouting 'victory, victory, the enemies are amazed and confounded; the stout-hearted are spoiled; they have slept their sleep; none of the men of might have found their hands; the Lord hath cast the horse and his rider into a deep sleep.'

To his enthusiastic and imaginative temperament things innumerable present themselves as 'signal interferences.' He 'wonders at Providence' every step he takes. His friends will see 'wonders next spring.' The invisible power of God goes through him 'far more sensibly than the circulation of blood through his veins.' He is at Dover, and after attending two public meetings on education, holds a private conference with a select party; serious conversation takes place; 'a solemn covering' comes over them,—'it seemed a power almost apostolic.' After standing an hour amongst them, he closes with solemn prayer, 'going boldly to the throne of grace in the sacred and powerful name of Jesus.' He carries the same spirit into the world with him, and applies it, without discrimination, to his pecuniary circumstances. He is pressed for money, but he cannot believe that, 'if the Almighty has designed the education of the poor of London, a few poor pitiless creditors can prevent it;' only let the eyes of his friends be opened, and they will see 'the mountain full of horses of fire, and of chariots of fire, round about Elijah.' He is in 'watch and ward' arrested for debt, and in a spunging-house; he has been there three days, and no one has been to see him; but he is 'as happy as Joseph was in the king's prison in Egypt.' Corston visits him, and stays an hour or two with him. 'After my departure,' he says:—

'He rang for the sheriff's officer, to take him to the Bench; but obtained leave to call at home on their way thither. When he got home, his wife and child, and all his young monitors, were assembled, overwhelmed with grief because he was going to prison. After being with them a little, he opened the parlour door, and said to the man, 'Friend, when I am at home, I read the scriptures to my family, hast thou any objection to come in?' He replied, 'No, sir,' and went in. After he had read a chapter or two, he went to prayer. The man soon became deeply affected, and joined the common grief. After prayer the man returned into the other room, and Joseph in a few minutes said to him, 'Now, friend, I am ready for thee.' They had not gone many paces from the door, when the man said, 'Sir, have you got no friend to be bound for you for this debt?' Joseph replied, 'No, I have tried them all.' 'Well,' replied the man, 'then I'll be bound for you myself, for you are an

honest man, I know' He surrendered him at the King's Bench and they took his security for the debt. About ten o'clock the next morning, he came jumping into my warehouse, Ludgate Hill, saying, 'Ah, friend William, did I not tell thee that thou wast not to assist me this time?'—pp. 35, 36.

This arrest brought matters to a crisis. A friendly docket was struck against him, and his creditors were called together. The result was, that in 1808 his affairs were transferred to trustees,—a fixed sum was allowed for his private expenses—a correct account of all receipts and expenditure was for the first time kept; and shortly after an association was formed, originally entitled 'the Royal Lancasterian Institution for promoting the Education of the Children of the Poor,' and subsequently, for the sake of greater simplicity, comprehension, and brevity,—the BRITISH AND FOREIGN SCHOOL SOCIETY.

We now revert for a few moments to Dr. Bell. During the period to which we have been referring, the Doctor was by no means an idle or unconcerned spectator. In November 1805, Mrs. Trimmer had published her pamphlet entitled 'A comparative View of the new Plan of Education promulgated by Mr. Joseph Lancaster, and of the System of Christian Education founded by our pious Forefathers.' In this work she considers, that a national system of education ought to be 'built on the Church Catechism;' and expresses her opinion although without, or rather *in spite of evidence*, that *under the name of the leading principles of christianity*, Mr. Lancaster builds on the basis of morality alone. She regards the first as 'teaching duties,' the latter as 'creating habits:' the one, (the Church Catechism) as 'calculated'—we are at a loss to conceive how—'to regulate the passions and subdue the evil propensities of the youthful heart;' 'the other,' (the leading principles of christianity,) 'in some things cherishing and indulging the passions beyond due bounds.' The more she looks into Lancaster's works, 'the worse opinion' she has 'of his views and intentions.' It is 'a great satisfaction' to her 'to find that he is attacked from another quarter.' Her 'fear' is, that 'the methodists will make great advantage by the plan.' She is told 'by a lady who visited the school last summer that there were thirteen of the principal methodist preachers of London there that day;' with much more in the same strain. Dr. Bell writes to her, observing very sensibly, that there was but one way in which Lancaster's efforts could be effectually checked, and that was by doing something themselves. Every letter from Mrs. Trimmer now brings him some new information, and he urges her to write constantly and unreservedly to him. She responds, by

rejoicing, that 'through the well-directed zeal of an excellent friend,' the 'arrogant quaker' has been disappointed in his attempt to set up a school at Windsor, and she has 'every reason to think that all which he included under the term royal patronage will be in future discontinued.' The 'dignitaries of the church also,' she informs him, 'even the highest, are fully convinced of the danger of the plan of forming the children of the lower orders into one organized body, and have consulted together concerning the measures which it may be proper to employ to prevent its taking effect.'

Dr. Bell now turned his thoughts towards leaving Swanage, and accordingly wrote to Mr. Calcraft, 'requesting his influence in favour of his either exchanging Swanage for some preferment more eligibly situated, or of some other arrangement whereby he might be enabled to render his services more available to the cause of education.' He also addressed a circular to certain members of the government, stating his wish to have some 'official post,' whence he might be enabled to 'rear in Europe the fabric' of which he had 'laid the foundation in India.' 'It was my official situation of minister of St. Mary's, at Madras, and chaplain of Fort St. George, &c.,' he says, 'that gave weight and influence to my gratuitous services in the organization and superintendence of the male asylum; and I now make a tender of my gratuitous services in favour of any public institution where government may deem them useful.'

No notice appears to have been taken of this application, and from this time till the year 1811 the work dragged heavily. In vain did Dr. Bell write,—'it cannot be dissembled that thousands, in various parts of the kingdom, are drawn off from the church by the superior attention paid to education out of the church,'—in vain did he visit bishops and archbishops, giving on one occasion 2,000 copies of his 'Experiment on Education' to the Archbishop of Canterbury for distribution among his clergy;—with the exception of being called upon to re-organize the Royal Military Asylum at Chelsea, and to introduce his system into a few other schools, nothing effectual was done. Prevailing distrust, if not absolute dread of education, paralyzed every effort, and effectually checked any well-organized movement in its favour. Southey boldly asserts, that the heads of the church did their duty at last, not because they were persuaded to it, but because they were 'frightened and shamed into it by the Dragon.*'

The extent to which this feeling prevailed, may be surmised from the fact, that Dr. Bell so far yielded to it, as to insert in the third edition of his 'experiment,' the following paragraph:—

* Lancaster. An educational caricature was at this time exhibiting, called 'Bel and the Dragon.'

‘ It is not proposed that the children of the poor be educated in an expensive manner, *or even taught to write and to cypher*. Parents will always be found to educate at their own expense, children enow to fill the stations which require higher qualifications, and there is a risk of elevating by an indiscriminate education the minds of those doomed to the drudgery of daily labour above their condition, and thereby rendering them discontented and unhappy in their lot.’

Thus far is given by the editor, who kindly does his best to deliver the Doctor out of the inconsistency into which he had fallen, and which had justly exposed him to the taunt of being an advocate for the universal *limitation* of knowledge. But Dr. Bell went further than this. He stooped to sneer at ‘utopian schemes for the universal diffusion of general knowledge,’ which, he said, ‘would soon realize the fable of the belly and the other members of the body; and confound that distinction of ranks and classes in society on which the general welfare hinges, and the happiness of the lower orders, no less than that of the higher, depends.’ This was pitiful, from a man who at other times professed such zeal for education. What right had he afterwards to complain that the names of Mandeville and Bell were associated, when he had thus gravely argued that the children of the labouring classes were to have ignorance, which Shakspeare calls ‘the curse of God,’ rivetted upon them because their parents subsisted by daily labour? The following is from a letter to him by Mr. Coleridge, under date of the 15th of April, 1808, and apparently written with reference to the false position he had now assumed. It is worthy of that venerable man, and adds another proof to the many already extant, that those were right who always held him to be infinitely superior to the party with which he was associated.

‘ I confess that I seem to perceive some little of an effect produced by talking with *objectors*, with men who, to a man like you, are far, far more pernicious than avowed antagonists. Men who are actuated by fear and perpetual suspicion of human nature, and who regard their poor brethren as possible highwaymen, burglarists, or Parisian revolutionists, (which includes all evil in one,) and who, if God gave them grace to know their own hearts, would find that even the little good they are willing to assist proceeds from fear, from a momentary variation of the balance of probabilities, which happened to be in favour of letting their brethren know, just enough to keep them from the gallows. O, dear Dr. Bell, you are a great man! Never, never permit minds so inferior to your own, however high their artificial rank may be, to induce you to pare away *an atom* of what you know to be right. The sin that besets a truly good man is, that, naturally desiring to see instantly done what he knows will be eminently useful to his fellow-beings, he sometimes will consent to sacrifice a part, in order to realize in a given spot, (to con-

struct, as the mathematicians say,) his idea in a given diagram. But yours is for the world—for all mankind; and all your opposers might, with as good chance of success, stop the half moon from becoming full; all they can do is, a little to retard it. Pardon, dear sir, a great liberty taken with you, but one which my heart and sincere reverence for you impelled. As the apostle said, Rejoice! so I say to you, *hope!* From hope,—faith, and love, all that is good, all that is great, all lovely and ‘honourable things’ proceed. From fear,—distrust, and the spirit of compromise—all that that is evil.’

During this year (1808) Dr. Bell succeeded in exchanging the living of Swanage for the mastership of Sherburn Hospital, valued at about £1200 a-year, and, as residence was not required, he took a house in London. Here he remained in tolerable quiet until the year 1811, when the formation of the Diocesan Societies, and soon after of the National Society, took place.

The immediate cause of this latter and more important movement was, a sermon preached in St. Pauls’, at the yearly meeting of the children educated in the charity schools of London, by the Rev. Dr. Marsh; in which, after maintaining that all national education ought to be conducted on ‘the principle of the religion by law established,’ he attacks Lancaster’s method *as a dissenting plan*, and urges the association of churchmen with churchmen, ‘in order to retain the faithful band’ who are still disposed to ‘rally’ round the church.

On the 16th of October (1811), THE NATIONAL SOCIETY was constituted, and, after some opposition on the part of the Bishop of London, Dr. Bell was elected an honorary member of the general committee, and thus in fact installed as director general of the institution. Whether Dr. Bell’s liberality of sentiment on some points was, or was not the cause of this opposition does not appear, but it is gratifying to find him in a letter to Mr. Southey saying, ‘I am free to confess that I think we should draw the children to church by cords of love, and not drag them by chains of iron. But in this opinion I differ from many of the wisest and best men.’ Southey, too, has some admirable observations on this subject. ‘The children should be *allowed*,’ he says, ‘to accompany the master to church, not *required* to do it; and this not merely for the sake of the orthodox dissenters (to whom, however, it ought to be allowed,) but because *it is better that they should go with their parents*, than with their schoolfellows and their master. In the one case, example is as likely to be mischievous, as it is sure to be beneficial in the other. Everyone will understand this who recollects with what different feelings the church service impressed him, when he attended in his own parish church by his

mother's side, and when he went among a drove of school-boys.' Intolerance, however, gained the day, and 'chains of iron' were judged to be more efficacious in promoting church going, than 'cords of love.'

From this time until his decease, a period of above twenty years, the life of Dr. Bell blends with the progress of the National Society and of its schools. To the service of that society he devoted himself with unwearied zeal and assiduity, travelling extensively on its behalf, and labouring for the diffusion of his system with untiring energy. The crowded meetings of the British and Foreign School Society appear occasionally to have carried both astonishment and dismay into the more orthodox camp, but on the whole, things went on quietly. In the month of January (1818) the Doctor was presented to a stall, 'of good value,' in Hereford Cathedral, which he subsequently exchanged for one in Westminster abbey, valued at £1100 a year; 'the rich preferments,' he says, 'which all my brethren enjoy, being shut against me,' at Hereford. In soliciting this exchange through the interest of the Bishop of Durham, he modestly says,—'If unexampled and *disinterested* services to the crown, to the church, and to the state, entitle a man to the notice and the favour of the minister, I shall not be afraid to put my claim in competition with that of any other man. If sacrifices made, odium incurred, and successful struggles encountered in their behalf, and *without their support or protection*, give pretensions, mine have not been wanting to a degree that few will believe.' This letter displeased the bishop, as well it might, and he returned no answer. But Dr. Bell was not to be so easily put aside. At no period of his life had he ever lost any thing for want of solicitation, nor did he now withdraw his claim because others might imagine that he took too high a view of his own merits. He steadily persevered, and his wishes were ultimately acceded to.

The same year that brought Dr. Bell 'the stall of good value,' saw his less favoured rival an exile, never to return, on the shores of America.

Lancaster's affairs were indeed transferred to trustees, but the man remained unchanged. He was still the victim of his impulses. The excitement of his mind never subsided. The repression of his extravagance was to him an intolerable interference. One by one he quarrelled with his friends; then separated himself from the institution he had founded; commenced a private boarding school at Tooting; became still more deeply involved; went through the Gazette; and finally, wearied with strife and sorrow, sailed in the year 1818 for the new world.

For the few subsequent notices of his life and character we are indebted to a manuscript communication from himself which has been kindly placed in our hands in order to enable us to complete the sketch we have undertaken.

On his arrival in the States he was everywhere welcomed and honoured as the friend of learning and of man. His lectures were numerously attended, and, for a time, all appeared to go well with him. But his popularity rapidly decayed. Rumours of debt and of discreditable pecuniary transactions in England, soon followed him; sickness, severe and long continued, wasted his family; and poverty, with her long train of ills, overtook him. Under these circumstances he was advised to try a warmer climate, and an opening having presented itself in Caraccas, he was assisted by his friends to proceed thither. He went with his son-in-law and daughter (who afterwards settled in Mexico), and, to use his own words, 'was kindly received,—promised great things, honoured with the performance of little ones,' and—after expressing, in no measured terms, his indignation at the breach of all the promises made to him,—was glad to leave his family, and escape with his life. This was accomplished by a hasty flight into the interior, from whence he subsequently reached the sea shore, and embarked in a British vessel bound for St. Thomas.

During his stay in Caraccas he had entered a second time into the marriage state, and his account of the performance of the ceremony is curious, as being probably the only instance yet on record, of a quaker wedding in South America.

The party met in Lancaster's school-room. At the time appointed General Bolivar with his leading officers and a large party of gentry and merchants assembled. 'Bolivar's suite,' he says, 'were extremely puzzled at the large maps, some busying themselves with looking for Caraccas in Asia and in Africa. The ceremony commenced by the whole party being requested to sit in silence. After a time this was broken by a notary, reciting the names and connexions of the parties, and proclaiming that each had promised, in the fear of God, to take the other 'for better or worse, for richer or poorer,' and so on. The witnesses set their hands and seals to the contract,—Bolivar signified his approval, and the marriage was regarded by all parties as binding.

After a short stay at Santa Cruz and St. Thomas, where again his lectures were attended by the governor and the gentry of the island, he returned to Philadelphia. Again sickness overtook him, and poverty, and much sorrow. In miserable lodgings, with an apparently dying wife, pinched by want, and pressed hard by difficulties of every kind, he appealed to the

benevolent, and in addition to other aid, obtained a vote of 500 dollars from the corporation of New York. This enabled him to take a small house, and to recover strength.

He now determined to return to England, and all but agreed for his passage, when circumstances induced him to return through Canada. On his arrival at Montreal he commenced his lectures, and again for a time floated along the stream of popular favour. His worldly circumstances improved, and he determined to give up the thought of returning to England, and to settle in Canada. After a time, and probably through his own folly, he again sank, and then opened a private school for subsistence. In this school room he held 'silent meetings' on 'first days,' sitting alone, while his wife and family were gone to church. 'Here,' he touchingly says, 'I sometimes found the chief things of the ancient mountains, and the precious things of the everlasting hills resting indeed on the head of Joseph, and on the crown of the head of him who was separated from his brethren,' by distance,—by faults,—by circumstances—and by the just but iron hand* of discipline. I longed again and again to come more and more under the purifying and baptizing power of the truth which had been the dew of my youth, and the hope of all my life in its best moments, whether of sorrow or of joy.'

The last letter received from him was addressed to Mr. Corston, from New York, and dated 21st of 9th month, 1838. He was then in the enjoyment of an annuity which had been raised for him in England, chiefly by the exertions of the friend to whom we have already referred. His mind at this time was evidently as wild as ever, and his energies unbroken. He is still ready to undertake 'to teach ten thousand children in different schools, not knowing their letters, all to read fluently in three weeks to three months.' The 'fire that kindled Elijah's sacrifice,' has kindled his, and 'all true Israelites' will, in time, see it. And so he runs on.

But his career was rapidly drawing to a close. He had fully resolved on a voyage to England; but about a week before the affecting accident occurred which occasioned his death, he expressed some doubts on the subject, saying, 'He knew not the reason, but he could not see his way clear in leaving America.'

On the 23rd of October, 1838, he was run over in the streets of New York; his ribs were broken, and his head very much lacerated. He was immediately taken to the house of a friend, where he died 'without a struggle, in the fifty-first year of his age.'

* He had been disowned by 'the Friends' chiefly on account of his irregularities in money matters.

In 1830 the health of Dr. Bell decidedly failed; and in 1831 Sir Benjamin Brodie stated his agreement with Dr. Newell in the opinion, that the nerves of the larynx were in a degree paralytic, as well as the organs of deglutition. His mind was, however, in full vigour, and his vanity as rampant as ever. 'His money,' says his biographer, 'was now a burden to him.' After changing his mind again and again as to its disposal, he at length suddenly transferred £120,000 to trustees at St. Andrews for a projected college. He then wrote to Dr. Southey, requesting that he and Mr. Wordsworth would edit his works, and begging their acceptance of £2,000, and all expenses paid, and the expenses of those they might employ. Southey accepts the trust, and incidentally refers to his own declining strength. 'I am old enough myself,' he says, 'to have the end of my journey in view, and to feel what a blessing it will be to escape from the cares of this world, throw off the burden of human infirmities, and be united in the kingdom of heaven with those dear ones who have gone before us.'

Dr. Southey very properly urged that as almost all his wealth had *come* from the church, some of it, at least, ought to *return* to it; and suggested to him a plan for augmenting poor livings. Dr. Bell at first seemed to acquiesce, but soon after altered his opinion. One-twelfth of the amount he had placed in the hands of trustees (£10,000) he subsequently gave to the Royal Naval School, and five other twelfths he transferred to the towns of Edinburgh, Leith, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Inverness. His Scotch estates, producing a yearly rental of about £400, he made over to trustees for the purpose of promoting and encouraging the education of youth in Cupar Fife, subject to a miserable annuity of £100 per annum to his sister; £20 annually to six other persons; and £10 to Thomas Clark. His princely donation to St. Andrews proved most unfortunate; it involved him in disputes with the trustees, terminating only with his death, which took place at Cheltenham on the 27th of January, 1832, in the 79th year of his age. His remains were removed to London on the 9th of February, and deposited in Westminster Abbey on the 14th; the highest dignitaries of the church, and other eminent persons, attending as mourners.

The leading features of Dr. Bell's character have been so well portrayed by Mr. Bamford, that we cannot do better than extract from his 'Notes.' He is speaking of him as he appeared to the teachers with whom he constantly came in contact:—

'Acting as general inspector of all the schools united with the society, and anxious for the diffusion of his system, he apparently sacrificed every comfort, by continuing to undergo, in traversing

from school to school, great bodily exertions and great mental excitements. The gratification which he derived from the display of a particular kind of knowledge, from the reception of praise and respect, the tribute due to his discovery and public reputation, encouraged and fed his restless vanity to such a degree, that his feelings, unless relieved by indulgence, would have made him intensely miserable. He had become so accustomed to bustle and change, and to new faces with new admiration, that he could never be happy for any length of time in one place. His fame, too, was spread, and a monument of renown erected by the establishment of every school. The fervour of travelling, and the excitement of fresh company, were necessary to carry off that exuberance of passion which, if not thus spent, would, I think—even if he were alone and in solitude—have accumulated and overflowed in vehement and fiery fits. Food, too, was continually required to nourish those notions of his self-importance which stationary friends, by too great intimacy, might neglect or refuse to gratify. It is true, that disregarding all personal care, and toil, and expense, wherever his services could be useful, however distant the place or unknown the applicants, no self-considerations restrained his zeal, or came into competition with his eager desire to bring his system into public notice and favour, and to keep up its character and reputation with others. In process of time, however, this craving for admiration from diversity of persons increased into a strong and overpowering feeling. It was not surprising, therefore, that he wrought himself into a belief that, as he was signally appointed by Providence to be the means of bringing to light such an instrument for the education of the body of the people, and the consummation of the blessed Reformation, so it was his duty personally to give his assistance whenever it was desired or likely to advance his great object. Still, perhaps, it had been better for himself and the cause in which he was engaged, either to have confined his instructions to fewer places, or to have communicated them with more grace. Previously to his arrival in any town he was, from his public character and his disinterested employment, regarded as highly as his own pretensions could desire; but a first or second visit most commonly lessened the respect or checked the ardour of those who had given their time and money towards the establishment of the schools, and who found themselves and their labours frequently depreciated, censured, and offended. Many anxious friends of schools, who had welcomed his coming, in the hopes of being assisted and encouraged by the sanction of the discoverer of the system they were patronizing, became disgusted and disheartened, and have now either given up their interest in schools altogether, or only attend in spite of the reflection that he, who should best know and judge impartially, could find nothing to commend in their exertions. I do not mean to say that he found fault where there was no reason; but his manner of examining schools, and addressing visitors and masters, was in general so opposite to the courteous and complacent behaviour by which great men become beloved, that many

unkind feelings have been excited against him which he might very easily not only have prevented, but in their place have established unalloyed admiration. Instead of delivering his instructions and making his remarks in a gentlemanly and conciliatory mode, so as to gain upon adult masters by his suavity, his personal behaviour was such that he was almost universally dreaded and disliked. His treatment of them in their schools, in the presence of their pupils, was frequently calculated to create any other sentiments than respect and attention. His conduct not only at the time alienated them from him, but it created a dislike which embittered and rendered heartless all their subsequent endeavours. It might be commonly true that there was ground for his observations; but his style of talking to them, and his remarks, with a kind of boundless rage and bluster, were, in their estimation, not only unkind and unnecessary, but vexatious and oppressive. These were evils which, in a great measure, he might have avoided, without exhibiting less earnestness or producing less benefits; besides, clothed as he was with authority, the tyranny was the more galling.'

His passion for money was inordinate, and it deservedly brought upon him, especially in his management of Sherburn Hospital, annoyance and obloquy. His views of human nature were affected by this propensity, and were consequently low and mean:—

'He regarded money as the *primum mobile*, and only efficient stimulant in the world. He excited masters by a negative kind of threat. He did not say, 'Do this, and you shall have so much beyond your regular and fixed salary:' which at best might be barely sufficient to command the necessaries of life—but, 'Do this, or you shall be mulcted, or lose your situation.' He would have had all the masters under such an arbitrary kind of control, that if the school did not weekly and monthly increase in numbers, and order, and attendance, and improve in progress, the masters should be subject to weekly and monthly fines, and be paid according to the periodical state of the school. 'I can do more,' said he to the Archbishop of Canterbury, taking a half-crown out of his pocket, 'I can do more with this half-crown than you can do with all your fixed salaries.'

His treatment of Mr. Bamford shows how well he understood the art of managing men for selfish ends, and how unscrupulously he practised it:—

'In his treatment of me,' says that gentleman, 'he exercised that mixture of severity and apparent good-will which, however at times unpleasant to my feelings, had so much influence over me, that I adhered to him most exclusively; and as he impressed upon me, looked upon all others who spoke kindly to me, or wished me to seek some relaxation, as insidious enemies. He professed to have no other object in view but my good; and by opening mysteriously to me the power of future patronage, with the necessity of implicit re-

liance, I was encouraged to expect a reward proportionate to any exertions I should make, however laborious or supererogatory. To him, therefore, I devoted myself. He found me docile, tractable, affectionate, and without guile or suspicion. He wished to train me up in that exclusive attachment to him and his pursuits, which rendered me a useful and necessary instrument for his present purposes, and which would prepare me for any future operations. He, therefore, exacted of me the prostration of the intellect, the affections, and the actions. All were to be at his disposal. Private views, and opinions, and friends, were to be discarded; and with a pure admiration and dependence, I yielded myself solely and wholly to his will. Severe and hard to endure was this course of discipline. He soon found that with the more gentle qualities of my nature, there were also united a warmth and impetuosity of temper, with a pride of spirit, which could be with pleasure led by gentleness, but which was fretted and wounded by harshness. But what could the vain ebullitions of youth avail against the cool and practised aims of age? By raising expectations without directly promising—by manifesting a parental care for my welfare, by professing sincere regard, by holding up inducements and future advancement, by candidly and honestly telling me my faults, by an air of the strictest justice, by enforcing unequivocal veracity, and every moral virtue, with a rigid industry, he bent and warped my mind to such a degree, that all my powers, and thoughts, and sentiments, were employed exclusively to please him, and fulfil his directions. I viewed nothing in the world but through the speculum he presented. Of himself he gave me a picture which I loved. He represented himself as delighted with truth, a lover of candour, the patron of merit; and he signalized me out as his little Lake boy, his protégée, nay, as his son, whom he regarded and trained up as his own. This, notwithstanding the many bitter moments of discipline which were used to try me, could not but gain upon such a heart as mine, particularly so inexperienced a one.

He never appears to have lived happily with his wife, and in June, 1815, a regular deed of separation was drawn up and finally executed. He nowhere exhibits *amiability* of character. Few, if any, loved him.

His vanity was prodigious: sometimes it is hateful, sometimes amusing. Mr. Davies, his amanuensis, whom he would keep employed for months together almost night and day, apparently regardless of his health or comfort, having on one occasion written to him an account of the progress he was making in the wearisome task assigned him of compiling from an immense mass of papers a complete edition of all the doctor's works, receives the following consolation:—'Go on. You must be well aware how instructive, how exceedingly instructive your present task is to you, and must still further be when I come to criticise and correct all you shall do.' Davies writes that he is

at work from six in the morning till ten at night; to which the doctor replies: 'You must work, not as I have done, for that I do not expect, but as you can. *Your labours in no other way can be so profitable to the world, or so improving to yourself.*'

Mr. Bamford's account is equally ludicrous.

'He triumphantly displayed the mighty advantages with which I was favoured in being allowed to copy and transcribe, from little scraps of paper and backs of letters, the chaotic effusions of his ardent mind. 'This was real training, far better than being at the university; and nobody knew where it might end, or what you may come to, if you give yourself up to this thing.' He would remark, after he tried my fidelity,—'Now you know all my concerns; other people require oaths of secrecy; no man engages a common clerk, without having security for his faithfulness; but here I allow you to see my papers, and trust only to your honour. Though I do not ask you to swear, yet I expect that you will consider yourself as fully bound, as if you were sworn to secrecy.'

In this respect alone,—the attaching of vast importance to supposed discoveries in education,—Lancaster resembled him. He, too, had his 'mysteries,' known only to the initiated. He, too, was a moral spectacle, and a wonder to himself. If Bell 'wielded one of the most stupendous engines' known 'since the days of our Saviour and his apostles,' Lancaster was not a whit behind in celebrity. He could instruct 'a thousand children at the same time out of one book;'—his 'youngest pupil could teach arithmetic with the certainty of a mathematician without knowing anything about it himself,' and by these 'wonderful inventions' the world was to be regenerated. If Bell 'attached an overweening importance to trifles, and insisted with vehemence on all his notions being adopted,' Lancaster, (we were about to say,) outdid him,—but that was impossible,—in this species of extravagance. Yet his boasted methods of punishment were radically bad, and have long since been abandoned as degrading and mischievous; and his system of rewards, including 'badges of merit,' 'orders' of merit, chains, medals, and expensive prizes,—scarcely less objectionable, have shared the same fate. Time has already set its seal upon the doings of both these men, and judgment has long since gone forth. But how different is the verdict to that which they so fondly anticipated. On all the *peculiarities* in which they gloried, men already pour contempt. The *monitorial* principle survives; but the trappings with which they encumbered it have long since proved worthless. Their pride is in the dust; their ambition, a vain show. Posterity will remember them rather as party leaders than as inventors or philanthropists, and succeeding generations will honour their zeal, their energy, and their per-

severance under difficulties, rather than their wisdom, their genius, or their modesty.

The *diversities* of character in the two men were many and striking. Lancaster, through his whole course, is the religious enthusiast; Bell, from youth to age, is distinguished by worldly-minded prudence. While the one is burning with desire to teach the blacks to read the bible; the other is quietly earning a reputation for sobriety and circumspection. When Lancaster is 'frequenting the meetings of Friends, and sacrificing worldly prospects to obtain inward peace,' Bell, is fighting a duel, and preparing to take orders in the church. While the unworldly quaker is exclaiming, 'I don't want a stock of money, I only want a stock of faith;' the 'disinterested' churchman is insatiate in his lust after place and preferment. While the one, generous to a fault and benevolent to a weakness, is complaining that his 'soul succumbs under the burden when he sees hearts breaking under distress' and he 'cannot or dare not help them;' the other, careful, and a little covetous withal, is pinching the 'brethren,' and bringing upon himself a visitation from the bishop. Both are proud; but with this difference,—Lancaster is arrogant, Bell, vain. Both are self-worshippers, 'the eye' of each is 'ever on himself,' but the result is not the same: in the one, self-complacency *destroys love*; in the other, it produces something like insanity. Under its influence, Lancaster, always generous and fervid, becomes habitually wasteful and flighty; Bell, with a natural tendency to be hard and grasping, becomes as habitually selfish and morose,—'of the earth, and earthy.'

In contemplating Dr. Bell as a beneficed clergyman, the mind is painfully affected in discovering no evidence whatever of spirituality of heart. He is always 'high and dry.' He has evidently more faith in natural philosophy, than in the gospel as a means of evangelizing India. Principal M'Cormick writes expressing distrust of the 'well-meaning but ill-judging patrons of plans for the conversion of Gentoos, and ridicules the idea of attempting to teach christianity to the natives of Bengal by 'preaching its doctrines *slap-dash*;' and faithless Dr. Bell, instead of rebuking his scepticism, replies, that without the power of working miracles '*none can ever* throw down the barriers which enclose their sacred shrines, or gain any converts whom a rational divine or pious christian, who sets any value on a good life, would not blush to own.'

His theology, too, is more than questionable. He understands by our Saviour's declaration, that we must become 'little children' in order to 'enter the kingdom of heaven,' that, 'among children, and from them, and by becoming as one of

them, we are to learn those simple doctrines of nature and truth, *innate in them*, or which readily occur to their minds, as yet unbiassed by authority, prejudice, or custom.' And he calls this the 'school of nature and truth pointed out by the Son of God.' We are by no means disposed to make any man an offender for a word, but we cannot help observing, that if Lancaster had expressed himself so incautiously, the friends of Dr. Bell would have eagerly seized upon the passage as conclusive evidence of a socinianized mind.

Lancaster had his theological heresies, but they are of a totally different complexion. *His* perversions of scripture are all mystical, and it is curious to observe how they blend with his burning temperament. He is an 'Elijah,' a 'chosen vessel,' a David before Goliath—a Joshua before Jericho. Imaginative and excitable, he is *always* on fire; Bell, very rarely, except when defending 'his system.' The former often manifests heat without light; but the latter, as a christian, never warms—all is cold as death. Coleridge, in one of his letters to Bell, unconsciously reads his friend a lesson when he observes, 'A man who has nothing better than prudence is fit for no world to come;' he might have had poor Lancaster in his eye when he added, 'and he who does not possess it in full activity is as unfit for the present world.' Both might have profited by his conclusion. 'What then shall we say? Have both prudence and the moral sense, but subordinate the former to the latter; and so possess the flexibility and address of the serpent, to glide through the brakes and jungles of this life, with the wings of a dove to carry us upward to a better.'

Lancaster's lack of prudence was happily supplied by a little band of men, now all gone to their reward, who, at great personal sacrifice, nobly came forward in the hour of need, and saved the schools he had established from utter and irremediable ruin. On two or three of these departed worthies we must bestow a passing notice.

WILLIAM CORSTON, the simple-minded author of the 'Brief Sketch,' to which we have been so largely indebted, was once well known as the party who introduced into this country the manufacture of British Leghorn. Having shown that instead of being imported as heretofore from Italy and France, it might be manufactured by our own poor, he opened a warehouse for its sale on Ludgate Hill. The discovery attracted much notice. The 'Society of Arts' pronounced the invention a national benefit, and rewarded the inventor with a gold medal. The 'Society for bettering the Condition of the Poor,' also noticed

this valuable branch of manufacture in their reports. After many vicissitudes, some of which obliged him more than once, to compound with his creditors, he eventually succeeded in his undertaking, and after a long and laborious life, retired on a small property to his native village of Fincham in Norfolk, where, at a very early period of his career he had established a school for poor children. It is due to this good and honourable man to state, that after emerging from pecuniary difficulties he called his creditors together, and with rare probity paid every debt in full.

William Corston was a Moravian by religious profession, a man of tender spirit and of warm affections. We have often heard him relate with brimming eyes the circumstance which first led him to take so deep an interest in the education of poor children. 'I was going,' he used to say, 'when I was about twenty years of age through Butt Lane, Deptford, when I heard voices singing, and looking up, saw a board on which was inscribed, 'To the glory of God and the benefit of poor children. This school was erected by Dean Stanhope.' I stood looking and musing upon it, when the voices of the children so affected me that tears flowed down my cheeks, and the prayer immediately arose in my heart, O! that it may please God that I may have it in my power one day to build a school like this for poor children!'^{*} He accomplished his object, and the school still stands, bearing the same inscription—'To the glory of God and the benefit of poor children.'

Lancaster never had a more attached friend than this good Samaritan. In all his trials we find him pouring his sorrows into the sympathizing bosom of the man whom he delights to call his 'friend,' his 'fellow labourer,' his 'brother,' his 'best beloved and faithful one,'—and he never appeals in vain. In later years, Mr. Corston spent most of his time at Fincham, where he died on the 25th of May, 1843, in the 84th year of his age.

JOSEPH FOX, to whom Lancaster was introduced in 1807, was a medical man, not less eminent for his professional skill, than for his extensive and diversified benevolence. He was, like Corston, a man of quick feelings and of sensitive nature. In religious sentiment he was either an independent or a baptist, we are not sure which. Fox, while at Dover, was taken by the late Sir John Jackson, with whom he was residing, to hear Lancaster lecture, and such was the effect produced upon him by the fervid oratory of the speaker, that at the conclusion of the lecture he

^{*} By some unaccountable mistake Mr. Southey has attributed this incident to Lancaster, and made him the straw-plait manufacturer.

rose, and with the greatest emotion and solemnity exclaimed, 'Were I to hold my peace, after what I have now heard and experienced, the stones might cry out against me.' His heart and hand were from this moment truly devoted to the work.

On his return to London, it was agreed that he should meet Lancaster to dinner at Ludgate Hill, and Mr. Corston thus describes the interview.

'After dinner, our first subject was the debt. 'Well, Joseph,' said Mr. Fox, 'what do you owe now? Do you owe a thousand pounds?' He only replied, 'Yes!' After a little time, he asked, 'Do you owe *two* thousand pounds?' A significant pause ensued. Joseph again replied 'Yes.' The third time he inquired, with increased earnestness, affectionately tapping him on the shoulder, 'Do you owe *three* thousand pounds?' Joseph burst into tears. 'You must ask William Corston,' said he. He knows better what I owe, than I do myself.' Mr. Fox then rising from his seat, and addressing me solemnly, said, 'Sir, I am come to London to see the devil in his worst shape; tell me what he owes.' 'Why, sir,' I replied, 'It is nearer *four* thousand than three.' He returned to his chair, and seemed for some time to be absorbed in prayer—not a word passed from either of us. Mr. Fox at length rose, and addressing me, said, 'Sir, I can do it with your assistance.' I replied, 'I know, sir, that God has sent you to help us; and all that I can do is at your command.' He rejoined, 'I can only at present, lay my hand upon two thousand pounds. Will you accept all the bills I draw upon you? and every one shall have twenty shillings in the pound, and interest if they require it.' I replied, 'I will.' We then all instantly rose, and embraced each other like children, shedding tears of affection and joy. 'The cause is saved!' exclaimed Mr. Fox. I replied, 'Yes; and a threefold cord is not easily broke.' Thus, through the gracious and almighty hand of Him, who prospers his own cause, and makes it to triumph over all its enemies and obstacles; thus was the foundation laid for the maintenance of an institution, which was destined to confer the blessing of *christian* education upon millions and millions of mankind.

'We immediately, and with renewed energy, proceeded with the work. Two days after, the bills, forty-four in number, were drawn, accepted, and given to the creditors; and, with gratitude to the Divine goodness, it may be added, that they were all honoured as they became due.

'Soon after this, we were joined by several valuable friends, and on March 1, 1808, a committee was formed, consisting of the following persons:—

'(Their names are given in the order in which they engaged in the work.)

'THOMAS STURGE
WILLIAM CORSTON
JOSEPH FOX

WILLIAM ALLEN
JOHN JACKSON
JOSEPH FOSTER.

‘From this time the accounts were properly kept, the trustees holding themselves responsible to the public. Nevertheless, they were further called upon to advance large sums, from time to time; and for nine years, cheerfully sustained the burden of a debt of £8000.

‘At length, Mr. Whitbread, who attended the committee, observed that it was a *shame* that a benevolent public should let six gentlemen be so far in advance for so long a time; and proposed that a hundred friends should be sought for, who would undertake to subscribe or collect £100 each for the work. In three years this plan proved successful, and in that time was raised £11,040, by which a new school was built, and the establishment greatly enlarged. And in the year 1817 the trustees were exonerated.’—pp. 54—57.

Mr. Fox devoted himself with characteristic energy to the work he had undertaken, and on the formation of the British and Foreign School Society in 1808, he became its secretary; an office which he rendered honourable by his gratuitous but unceasing and unabated labours. He died on the 11th of April, 1816, at the early age of forty years.

The last survivor of this little band was WILLIAM ALLEN, whose recent departure in a good old age, has been noticed in most of the leading periodicals of the day. A few words regarding this venerable philanthropist, must complete the hasty and imperfect sketches on which we have, perhaps, too rashly ventured.

WILLIAM ALLEN, at the period to which we have been referring, was a chemist, carrying on an extensive and lucrative business in Plough Court, Lombard Street, and at the same time delivering a course of lectures at the Royal Institution. Here he had formed friendships with Sir Humphrey Davy and other eminent persons, which ended only with their lives.

In the year 1805 he visited Lancaster’s school in the Borough Road for the first time. He was much struck by what he witnessed,—became a subscriber to the school, and availed himself of every opportunity for drawing attention to its merits. In 1808 he joined Lancaster’s other friends in undertaking the responsibility of his debts, and was for upwards of five and thirty years treasurer to the institution which arose out of his movements.

His life was eminently active and useful. In the year 1818, being then a minister among the Society of Friends, he visited Norway, and from thence proceeded through Stockholm and Finland to St. Petersburg. Here, in conjunction with two other friends he compiled the excellent volume of scripture selections which, in connection with the entire scriptures, has ever

since been used in the schools of the society. This volume was immediately translated and printed in Russia for the use of the schools in that great empire.

After leaving Petersburg, he proceeded through some of the large towns of Russia to the German colonies on the banks of the Dnieper; and thence to Constantinople, Smyrna, Greece, and the Ionian Islands. After a detention at Zante in consequence of serious and protracted illness, he returned home through Italy, Switzerland, and France. In 1822 he again visited the continent of Europe, and at Vienna and Verona among the ministers of the different courts of Europe then assembled, proclaimed the iniquities of the African slave trade, and pleaded the cause of the oppressed Greeks, and of the persecuted Waldenses of Piedmont. For the former he obtained some important privileges, and for the latter he secured increased liberty of conscience.

At home he was well known as an ardent and untiring philanthropist;—in character, unspotted,—in charity, abundant,—in manners, a courtier,—in purity of life, a saint. His latter years were chiefly passed at Lindfield, in Sussex, where he had established schools of industry, and here he died on the 30th of December 1843, in the seventy-third year of his age. His last thoughts were on the love of Christ and on the true unity of a redeemed people; his mind dwelling with lingering affection on the words of Jesus, 'that they may be with me where I am.' 'I in them, and thou in me, that they all may be one in us.' In the near approach of dissolution a heavenly serenity settled on his countenance: his hands were raised in the attitude of prayer, and then tranquilly rested on his bosom, as the redeemed spirit was gently released from its earthly tenement.

Should his life ever be written,—and it would be an instructive one—the great lesson to be gathered from it would be, the practicability of combining through a long life, the obligations of trade, the pursuits of science, the enjoyments of philanthropy, and the duties of a gospel ministry. We can conceive of nothing better calculated to correct early and ill-directed ambition, to check youthful pride, or to cure unreasonable disgusts, than the observation of so healthful an example, as that of a man whose varied honours were but successive developments of growing character, each appearing in its *appropriate* season, and each bringing with it its suitable reward.

Of the remaining three early friends of Lancaster, only one was known to the writer of this article—JOSEPH FOSTER, an upright and honourable man,—generous, hospitable, sincere, incapable of meanness, and indignant at wrong. He too has

gone to his rest, the only one who has left his name and place in the society occupied by a son.

Of the *political* founders of the institution few now remain. The Dukes of Kent and Sussex, the Duke of Bedford and Lord Somerville, Mr. Whitbread, Sir Samuel Romilly, Mr. Horner, Sir James Macintosh, and many others who might be named, are all gone. And Rowland Hill, whose cheerful voice used so often to ring through the committee room, as he led in his retiring but noble-hearted friend John Broadley Wilson, who usually accompanied him from his Friday morning service; and Wilberforce, in a somewhat equivocal position, as an annual subscriber, a vice-president, an eloquent advocate, and yet, according to his sons, a disapprover of the society; and humbler names, a sacramental host, who did good service to the cause in their day and generation, have gone too, leaving the principles they espoused, and the society they established, to be defended, sustained, and preserved for succeeding generations by those who cherish their memory, and occupy their places.

In looking back over the ground we have now traversed, and retracing step by step the progress of popular education, it is melancholy to observe how identical are the accusations brought against the friends of Scriptural and comprehensive education now, with those that were made thirty years ago; and how inevitable is the conclusion—forced upon the mind in spite of efforts to the contrary—that faction, party, secular interests, and sectarianism, have had far more to do with the educational strife of the last half century than any love for ‘Christ’s holy gospel,’ or righteous jealousy for the honour of his word. As far back as 1811 we find Mr. Fox vindicating the institution from the still undying calumny of being favourable to Unitarianism. This ridiculous charge was *originated*, it appears, by Dr. Marsh, in consequence of one of the speakers at a public dinner of the Unitarian Fund having observed, that ‘he looked on the endeavours of Mr. Lancaster in the most favourable point of view, because his enthusiasm was merely directed to education.’ In the ‘vindication,’ Mr. Fox indignantly denies any such tendency, and startles us by stating, that Mr. Lancaster, in order to prove his orthodoxy and fair dealing, had actually printed an edition of the church catechism on three large sheets of paper, that it might become a school lesson, and that *as such*, it was then used in his schools at Canterbury, Cambridge, Lynn, Ipswich, and other places. That such a compromise of principle failed to placate the bigots who opposed him, is certainly by no means to be regretted. Lancaster

saw his error, and fell back upon the great protestant doctrine of the sixth article of the church of England, which declares, that 'Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not found therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.'

By the teaching of 'leading and uncontroverted doctrines,' as opposed to 'peculiar religious tenets,' which were to be excluded, Mr. Fox boldly asserts was meant, 'those principles which are received and acknowledged by *every class of christians*, considered as such, *who do not think it idolatry to address worship to Jesus Christ.*' This is plain language—it excludes Unitarianism altogether. It does more; it proves that from the very first, *the principle* of the British and Foreign School Society has been, in accordance with its universal practice, not only not to exclude, but positively to introduce, and, as much as possible, to teach in scripture language, those great truths which Unitarians deny, but which have ever been the consolation and joy of all real christians. And yet—such is the power of prejudice, when sectarian purposes have to be subserved—that even within the last twelve months we have heard it asserted in public, by one who ought to have known better, that if evangelical religion be now taught in British Schools it is by a side wind, by a sort of pious fraud, and in opposition to its original constitution! while others, affecting a liberality which they do not feel, lift up sanctimonious eyes, and still timidly express doubts as to the bible being used, or as to religious principle being regarded in the selection of teachers. 'Pharisees,' 'hypocrites,' our Lord would have said to such,—'first take *beams* out of your own eyes, and then shall ye see clearly to take *motes* out of your brother's eyes.' Let the young and ardent take warning in time. Let them beware, ere it be too late, of the *immoralities* of the religious. Let them know that deep as is the guilt involved in the indulgence of dispositions so opposed to the 'gracious image of the Son of Man,' as detraction and slander, these are but the every day enormities of those who stoop to lead sects, and to contend for party. Let them learn early to dread the influences of vulgar praise and conscious power. Let them be assured that the victories even of truth are too dearly purchased, if they are obtained by the loss of candour or at the cost of charity.

Poor Lancaster, who had often occasion to join with the Psalmist and pray—'Deliver my soul, O Lord, from *lying* lips, and a *deceitful* tongue,' being charged with Deism, once published his 'belief,' and if words have any meaning, it is abundantly satisfactory. We quote it as a curious and almost solitary

instance of Quaker theology thrown into the form of a *crede*. 'I am,' he says 'a firm believer in the divinity of Jesus Christ. I believe that the Holy Scriptures were given by inspiration, and contain in writing the revealed will of God. I believe the doctrine of the fall of man, and the alienation from God consequent on that fall. I believe that there are three that bear record in Heaven; the FATHER, the WORD, and the SPIRIT, and that these three are one. I believe in the doctrine of justification by faith in Jesus Christ. I know that salvation can only be obtained by the name of Christ, and by the oblation of himself which he made on the cross. I believe THE APOSTLES' CREED to be a just inference from the scriptures, at once excellent, simple, and expressive; but it was not given in its present collective form by inspiration, as the writings of the apostles were; and who can blame me for preferring, as an individual, the inspired writings of the apostle, which contain the substance of the creed in almost every page, and often in a few lines, to any inference therefrom by men, however excellent in their kind? Can such inferences rival the beautiful language of St. John, or the majestic yet simple eloquence of St. Paul?' SOCINIAN, DEIST, INFIDEL! May thy sound faith, and loving heart, inspire us with a large charity for thy many faults and grievous wanderings!

The recent movement of the Wesleyan body, and the formation of 'the Congregational Board of Education,' render it more than ever necessary that the principles of the British and Foreign School Society should be clearly stated and thoroughly understood. On the advantages to be derived from congregational schools, when conducted on comprehensive principles, and on the obligations resting upon churches to do their part in removing the dense mass of ignorance by which they are surrounded, we have long since expressed our opinion. Fifteen years ago we urged their establishment, and we have seen no reason materially to alter the opinions we then expressed. But then, we have always held that congregational schools of this description are, after all, only British schools under another name; and we are now happy to find our judgment in this matter sustained by an official paper of the society, which runs thus:—

'In order to establish a *British School*, it is by no means necessary that different denominations should unite either in its support or management. Such a school may be sustained and governed as legitimately by an individual as by a local committee. It may be carried on in a building attached to, or distinct from, a particular place of worship. It may be exclusively supported by a single congregation, or it may be dependent upon the subscriptions of a

neighbourhood. The committee governing it may all be of one denomination, or they may be of several denominations. The teacher may hold religious opinions in accordance with those of his committee, or he may differ from them. All these varieties of administration are mere accidents. They leave the essential principle of a British school untouched,—that principle being *scriptural instruction without reference to the DENOMINATIONAL INTERESTS of any one particular section of the church.*

‘So long, therefore, as a congregational school is conducted on what may be termed the principle of religious equality,—so long as it imposes no condition adverse to freedom of conscience, or unfavourable to the undisturbed exercise of parental rights, it is, notwithstanding its organization and management, a British school.

‘Whenever it forsakes this ground, by introducing in school hours, and as a part of school business, some catechism or other human formulary peculiar to a denomination,—whenever it so identifies the sunday school and the day school, as to make attendance on the one essential to continuance in the other,—whenever it in any way perverts benevolent effort for the education of the poor into an engine of sectarian proselytism, it departs (and just in the proportion that it so acts), from the comprehensive principle of the Society, and ceases to be numbered among its schools. It is then a congregational school, on exclusive principles.

To the latter class of congregational schools we decidedly object. Still more emphatically would we protest against the doctrine, now becoming fashionable in quarters where it was once indignantly rejected, that the education of the people is to be committed to the church. We care not whether by ‘the church’ is meant the national establishment, the voluntary churches of dissenters, or both united; we repudiate the principle: it is as hollow as that which maintains that the instruction of the people is the proper care of the government. We are prepared to stand or fall by the sounder doctrine put forth by the British and Foreign School Society.

‘The direction of popular education is the proper duty and inalienable right of the people themselves. It cannot be resigned to the government. It cannot be yielded to the national establishment. It cannot be laid at the feet of the ministers of religion, either of one, or of all denominations. It is not *exclusively* a religious thing. If in one aspect it involves spiritual privilege, in another it as distinctly includes civil right. To possess it is a *secular advantage*. To be deprived of it is to be brought under a *civil disability*.

‘So complex a work will best be promoted by religious men, acting as christian citizens, and representing in their movements principles rather than sects. To abandon education to the rivalry of conflicting denominations, would be to place universally a particular class of civil benefits at the disposal of religious bodies, to be given or withheld at their option.’

Nor is this all:—

‘ By the union of christians of different denominations, on the principles of the Society, the establishment of schools becomes practicable in districts where it would be otherwise impossible to act efficiently ; a wise and equal distribution of the means of education is secured in thickly populated towns and cities ; that unnatural and mischievous competition which so frequently dissipates strength, which reduces the remuneration of the teacher to the lowest point, and which renders any united system of school inspection all but impossible, is always checked and often prevented ; and the temptation to appoint unsuitable teachers, merely for the sake of securing persons of peculiar religious opinions, is to a great extent removed out of the way.

‘ By confining religious instruction to the sacred scriptures, and by inculcating points which unite rather than those which divide real christians, it presents truth to the minds of children in its just proportions ; it avoids the danger of forming sectarian partizans instead of enlightened christians ; and it prevents the growth of mere prejudices, by withholding from the young sentiments and opinions which can have no practical hold either on their intellects or affections. It thus binds together, by common effort, in a common cause, those who are always too prone to separate ; it enables the stronger to assist the weaker, by generously bearing a portion of their burdens ; and by manifesting to the world the identity of christian character, it tends to promote the fulfilment of the Redeemer’s prayer, ‘ that they all may be one.’—p. 22.

While, therefore, we rejoice in the establishment and multiplication of congregational schools, and hail all such efforts as promoting the great and common cause of light against darkness, truth against error, and holiness against sin, we feel still bound to regard the education of the people as a national object, and therefore to be treated, whenever it is practicable, **NATIONALLY** ; that is to say, ‘ with reference to the country rather than to parties, to towns rather than to churches, to districts rather than to congregations.’

In reading the Life and Correspondence of Dr. Arnold, we have been much struck with the accordance of that eminent person’s sentiments on education with those which we have thought it right to advocate. His whole life, indeed, might be converted into one great argument for the British and Foreign School Society. He is perpetually insisting that ‘ with the exception of Unitarians, all christians have a common ground in all that is essential in christianity ;’ and beyond that he never wishes to go. Yet he is no persecutor. His letter to a parent holding Unitarian opinions is a model of christian integrity and candour.

Far from imagining that children cannot be trained in the fear and love of God without being separated into sects, he disclaims all wish to bias their opinions on unimportant points, and

labours 'to lead them to Christ in true and devoted faith, holding all the scholarship that ever man had, to be infinitely worthless in comparison with even a very humble degree of spiritual advancement.'

But then he had no exaggerated expectations. 'He had faith in what he believed to be a general law of Providence; and he based his whole management on his early formed and yearly-increasing conviction, that what he had to look for both intellectually and morally, was not performance, but promise;' and 'he did not hesitate to apply to his scholars the principle which seemed to him to have been adopted in the training of the childhood of the human race itself. He shrunk from pressing on the consciences of boys rules of action which he felt they were not yet able to bear; and from enforcing actions which, though right in themselves, would in boys be performed from wrong motives.' His aim, indeed, was rather to make christian men than to produce christian boys. He felt that with children school time is *seed* time, and he was content to see 'the blade' only, in the full belief that 'the ear,' and the 'full corn in the ear,' would follow in due time.

Right views on this subject would do much to check the unreasonable expectations which are so frequently formed by those who establish schools for the poor; the language of mature and experienced piety, instead of being encouraged, would be felt to be inappropriate in the mouth of a child; excited hopes would not be followed by collapse and disappointment; and abundant scope would be found for the sound christian instruction of young persons, without the introduction of topics ill suited to their years, or the factitious development of religious affections.

But we have already far exceeded all bounds in the length to which this article has insensibly extended. We must now part company alike with Bell and Lancaster, and with the societies which respectively embody their principles and form their monuments.

Mr. Southey's book is, on the whole, heavy. It is much too large and loaded with correspondence. Here and there a letter from the Edgeworths, Wordsworth, Coleridge, or the lamented editor of the first volume, relieves a tedium which would otherwise be insupportable. Yet even these, though few in number, are sometimes uninteresting, and only add to the dreary and desolate feeling with which the eye wanders over the three thick octavo volumes which embalm the remains of Dr. Bell.

Mr. Corston's sketch, as a literary production, is not open to criticism. It is the last fond memorial of an old man trembling on the brink of the grave, and recalling scenes still fresh with the recollection of by-gone joys.

- Art. II. 1. *Isagoge in epistolam a Paulo apost. ad Colossenses datam, theologica, historica, critica.* Confecit G. Böhmer. 8vo. Berol. 1829.
2. *Theologische Auslegung des Paulinischen Sendschreibens an die Colosser.* Von W. Böhmer. 8vo. Breslau, 1835.
3. *Der Brief Pauli an die Colosser: Uebersetzung, Erklärung, einleitende, und epikritische Abhandlungen.* Von W. Steiger. 8vo. Erlangen, 1835.
4. *Commentar über den Brief Pauli an die Colosser.* Von K. C. W. F. Bähr. 8vo. Basel, 1833.

THE Epistle to the Colossians greatly needs an English commentary. There is no *good* exposition of it in our language. It is a part of the New Testament, confessedly difficult, and in various aspects most important. In the meantime, some one of the three commentaries at the head of this article should be translated into English. Bähr's would probably be the most popular, although we should prefer Steiger's or Boehmer's. Olshausen's, however, is superior to any other of the same compass. The light of history, especially the history of philosophy, must be brought to bear upon the letter before us. The allusions of Paul lie so much within the apostolic period, that it is impossible to understand the scope and bearings of his statements, or to attach definite ideas to many expressions, without a tolerable acquaintance with the influences which leavened the cultivated Jewish no less than the cultivated heathen mind of that age. To explore this is a task to which the indolent propensity of the English theologian is averse. It must be left to the laborious Germans who love such pursuits; while *we* are content with learning the results of their investigations. They accuse us of doing nothing to advance the interpretation of the Bible, and there is ground for the accusation; although themselves are not free from blame while boldly prosecuting their inquiries.

In examining such questions as are suggested by the epistle, we shall pursue the following order, and inquire:—

I. Who were the persons at Colosse whom the apostle condemns as corrupters of the church?

II. Did Paul himself plant the church in that place?

III. The authenticity and genuineness of the epistle.

IV. The connexion between the epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians.

V. The time and place at which the Colossian letter was written.

VI. Its contents.

In discussing the first topic these particulars present themselves:—

(a) Were the false teachers at Colosse of one sect or class, or did they belong to different and distinct parties?

(b) Were they Jews or Christians?

(c) What were the peculiar tenets which they inculcated?

(a) When the various features ascribed by the apostle to these errorists are collected into one portrait, they appear at first sight so contradictory as not to belong to the same individuals. Rather do they seem to describe minds whose psychology is diverse. Hence Heinrichs attributes the characteristic traits enumerated to persons of various parties,—judaists, gnostics, and other heretics. In like manner Whitby thinks, that they point partly to Essenes, and partly to Pythagorean philosophers. Nothing improbable appears in the supposition that a *judaizing* tendency is depicted in the words:—‘Let no man, therefore, judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of an holy day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath days;’ and a *gnostic* propensity in the following:—‘Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind,’ (ii. 16, 18.) The writer does not affirm that all the errors he condemns were held by the same persons. No part of the epistle is directly or decidedly opposed to the hypothesis, that those who disseminated false doctrines among the Colossians belonged to classes essentially distinct; although, at the same time, a line of separation is not drawn between different parties. But when we reflect that Colosse was of comparatively small extent*—that the Christians there were not very numerous; and that the apostle uniformly censures the church as a whole, not certain individuals in it; that the errors in question are successively depicted without any intimation that they belonged to various factions; it is probable, that all the features unite in one portrait, and find their

* It is often stated, that Colosse was a large, wealthy, populous city, and thence inferred that the church there was large and flourishing. This does not appear to be correct. In the time of Herodotus and Xenophon, it certainly was so; but not in the time of Paul. The former historian calls it πόλις μεγάλη (vii. 30); the latter, εὐδαίμων καὶ μεγάλη, (Anab. I. 2. 6). But its ancient greatness sank when Laodicea and Hierapolis rebelled against the yoke of the Seleucidæ, and afterwards of the Romans. Strabo (xii. 8.) calls it πόλισμα, a *little town*, in opposition to Laodicea which was extensive and populous. Ptolemy has taken no notice of it in his catalogue of cities. It is true that Pliny reckons it one of the *celeberrima oppida Phrygiæ*, (Nat. Hist. v. 41), but *oppidum* means only a *town*; and the reason why he styles it *very celebrated* is obscure. His authority is of little weight against that of Strabo.

appropriate position in the same persons. A comparison of our epistle with the pastoral letters shews, that similar errors had been promulgated in Crete and Ephesus. It is therefore better to assume, with the majority of modern interpreters, that only one class of heretical teachers is depicted in the epistle.

(b) Eichhorn maintains, that they were Jews, not Christians; a hypothesis afterwards modified by Schneckenburger, and adopted as so modified by Feilmoser. In support of it Eichhorn adduces the phrase, 'not holding the head,' (ii. 19), which is explained, *not believing in Christ*. This, however, is obviously incorrect. Had they been mere Jews, there would have been no significancy in affirming that they did not believe in Christ. 'Not holding the head' must therefore denote, *not holding fast by the head, not maintaining a belief in His essential dignity and power*, but virtually lowering his pre-eminence by adopting and disseminating views in regard to his person, inconsistent with its true glory. Had they not made a profession of Christianity, the apostle would hardly have described, or warned the Colossians against them, with such particularity. The case would have been too obvious to require so much opposition on the part of an inspired writer. *Jews* would have been at once charged with absolutely rejecting the promised Messiah in the person of the Saviour, and thus condemned for their unbelief. It is manifest from the tenor of the epistle, that they were *Christians not Jews*, else the pains taken to refute them appear to be superfluous.

(c) In Phrygia, there was a mixture of the oriental and occidental tendencies. The national character of the people appears to have been strongly tinged with the enthusiastic and the mystical. Such a propensity, turned in a heathen direction, may be observed in the fanatical worship of Cybele; while in the direction of Christianity, it appears in the Montanism of the second century. During the apostolic age, many Jews were dispersed through Asia Minor. Considerable numbers had taken up their abode there previously to the birth of Christ. According to Josephus, Antiochus the Great ordered two thousand Jewish families, with all their effects, to be transplanted from Babylon and Mesopotamia into Phrygia, (Antiq. xii. 3.) Nor were the Jews who had established themselves in this region of one party alone;—they belonged to all the sects into which the nation was divided. Now the people of that time, both Jews and heathens, were prone to speculations respecting the invisible world. Eager to stretch their view beyond the material, they pushed their inquiries into the region of spirits and higher intelligences. It may be readily conceived, that the thirst after such aerial knowledge was accompanied by considerable dissa-

tisfaction, because the votaries arrived at no definite conclusions, nor attained to a full solution of their doubts. In the domain of their shadowy speculations, they found no substantial resting-place. This was the prevalent propensity of the human mind, especially of the Phrygian, at the period in question. Amid the general desire for superior wisdom, and communion with higher orders of being, Christianity was embraced all the more readily, as the means of affording that relief to the spirit which it had elsewhere sought in vain, inasmuch as this new religion professes to release mankind, in some degree, from the bondage of the body, and to communicate a divine knowledge.

But we must consider the tendencies of the Jewish mind itself prior to the reception of Christianity, and the different phases which it presented, before the result of the contact of such mind with the simple doctrine of the New Testament can be rightly developed. There is in mind generally, the practical and the speculative tendency. The former predominated among the Pharisees; the latter among the Essenes,—a contemplative class, who lived secluded from the world, exhibiting a theosophic spirit in union with an ascetic bias. The Essenes, however, were not the only Jews who manifested this mental bias. Many others exhibited a mystic-ascetic direction. At first sight, asceticism might appear inconsistent with the theoretic spirit. It might seem improbable, that the practical and the speculative should be united in the same individuals. But a *false* asceticism, so far from being incongruous with the theoretic propensity, is nearly allied to it. When once the mind turns aside in a wrong direction, or tries to penetrate into the region of clouds and shadows, it engenders notions in regard to the material, which partake of the illusions gathered amid airy speculations. It will then be felt more keenly, that the body is a clog upon the heaven-born spirit, by preventing it from assimilation to angels and spirits, or by obstructing its desires after the invisible and immaterial. Hence the outward frame will be neglected and macerated, and its natural appetites unduly restrained, as though they directly tended to hinder communion with the spiritual world. If we reflect, moreover, that strict asceticism, as in the case of the false teachers at Colosse, often rested on the belief that matter was *essentially evil*, we shall readily perceive the alliance between philosophical speculation and rigid abstinence. The elements of theosophic ascetism were already contained in the Jewish Cabala. It is true that these elements with which the apostolic age was deeply imbued, had not been incorporated into a formal organism, but they were in active operation, and widely diffused notwithstanding. Soon after the apostolic period, they were wrought up into complete and compacted systems.

Let it be remembered too, that before and during the time of our Saviour, Alexandria was the metropolis of philosophy. There Jewish theosophy assumed various garbs, and was extensively cultivated. Allegorical interpretation was fashionable. To the outward symbols of Judaism a higher meaning was attached. A hidden sense was extracted from every part of the Old Testament. Contemplating the external as thus connected with the internal, the learned Jews of Egypt desired to penetrate through it into the recesses of the latter, and so to arrive at profound mysteries which it was the privilege of the initiated alone to apprehend. Such was the class to which Philo belonged—a class resembling the persons to whom reference is made in the present epistle. Now the influences emanating from Alexandria were extensive. A place where philosophical Judaism found its central point, must have had no ordinary effect upon the Jews resident in other, and especially, in neighbouring regions. Doctrines passed through it from the east into the west. Between the developments of the eastern and western mind, it must be regarded as the principal centre of union. Here were many contemplative Essenes or Therapeutæ, and thence came forth a powerful stimulus to the intellectual appetite of Jewish brethren, and even of cultivated heathen, who had not the good fortune to reside at the fountain, and to catch the enthusiastic spirit fresh from its source. It is unnecessary, on the present occasion, to develop the prevailing elements of the Alexandrine theology about the time of our Lord's advent, especially those peculiar elements which constituted the prominent part of Philo's creed. There was a twofold tendency to mystical speculation; viz., the Grecian-philosophic and the Oriental-theosophic; the former more apparent in Philo; the latter, in the case before us.

When Jews addicted to such theosophic-asceticism were led to embrace christianity, they could not easily abandon their previous bias, however opposite to the simplicity and purity of the gospel. Ignorant, perhaps, of the extent and reality of the self-denial which the gospel demands, they adopted it as offering spiritual freedom, and affording farther insight into that immaterial world in which their imaginations loved to luxuriate. But christianity grasped by minds of mystical and enthusiastic tendencies, must have partially disappointed their hopes, especially since they were averse to the renunciation of that boasted wisdom which must be laid at the foot of the cross. In these circumstances it was natural for theorists to modify and adapt the gospel to their wonted modes of thought,—to bring it into union with their mystical notions, and to cast it anew in the mould of their own theosophy. Hence,

pure christianity was disfigured. It cannot be associated with the heterogeneous speculations of oriental theosophy without deterioration of its genuine character. The house where the ark of the Lord is placed, cannot allow a rival occupant. Dagon must fall to the ground. Such was the mode in which it was sought to incorporate a theosophic religion with christianity. The false teachers in question were Jewish gnostics, whose previous tendencies had not been subdued by the all-pervading influence of genuine truth. They therefore modified the gospel to suit their particular views.

We are now prepared to pronounce a decision upon the question whether the so-called philosophy consisted of elements foreign to Judaism, or of materials emanating from that religion alone. We have seen the kind of religious notions current among some of the Jewish sects. Josephus and Philo, who are the principal* sources of information in regard to this point, shew, that philosophical speculations identical with those inculcated by the errorists at Colosse, occupied the minds of the inquiring Jews, and were propagated as matters of recondite knowledge concealed from the mass of mankind. It has been thought difficult, however, to find among the Jews of that period evidence of the fact that the worship of angels (ii. 18) was held by *any* sect in the time of Paul; and again, to discover such sentiments as the apostle confronts, by declaring Christ to be the head of all principality and power (ii. 10), having spoiled principalities and powers, made a shew of them openly, and triumphed over them in his sufferings (ii. 15), i. e., peculiar sentiments in regard to orders of angels, and subordinate deities supposed to possess creative energy. Josephus, indeed, speaks of the three different forms in which the Mosaic religion had been moulded as different *philosophical* directions. The term *philosophy* therefore does not necessarily lead the inquirer beyond the bounds of the Old Testament religion, although it is too narrow to confine it, with Tittmann and others, exclusively to the Jewish law. According to the account given of the Essenes, we should have expected that they, if any of the sects, should have revered angels or celestial spirits. Perhaps, however, it will not be needful even here to travel beyond the limits of Judaism. The mental propensity which has been already described as belonging to the Jews in Phrygia, is nearly allied to an angelological tendency. In consequence of their proneness to the mysterious and the magical, they were eager to cultivate a connexion with superior beings. It is generally admitted that the Jews brought many notions concerning spirits and demons from Babylon; and there is little

* See also Pliny, Nat. Hist. v. 15 (17).

doubt that the cabbalistic doctrine concerning such beings had a strong tincture of orientalism. Accordingly Josephus states of the Essenes, that they *observed the names of angels*. The Alexandrine Jews approved of the sentiment that angels were *internuncii* between God and good men—a sentiment which would easily prepare the way for the adoration of these beings. Still more directly to our purpose is a passage in the *κήρυγμα Πέτρου*, in which it is stated, that the Jews adored angels and archangels—and it is supposed by Grabe that this treatise belongs to the first century.* These Jewish theosophists may have paid a superstitious reverence to angels not only because angels were present in great numbers at the giving of the law, but because from them were supposed to proceed mysterious powers, which raised the initiated far above the multitude. Their acquaintance with the superior natures of the invisible world was supposed to give them a certain relation to the Supreme Deity. ‘In that Judaizing sect,’ says the excellent Neander, ‘which here came into conflict with the simple, apostolic doctrine, we see the germ of the Judaizing gnosticism. Though the account given by Epiphanius of the conflict between Cerinthus and the Apostle Paul is not worthy of credit, yet at least between the tendency which Paul here combats, and the tendency of Cerinthus the greatest agreement is found to exist; and, judging by internal marks, we may consider the sect here spoken of to be allied to the Cerinthian. It is remarkable that to a late period traces of such a Judaizing angelological tendency were to be found in those parts; for at the council of Laodicea, canons were framed against a Judaizing observance of the sabbath, and a species of angelolatry; and even in the ninth century we find a kindred sect, the Athingamians.’†

In order that we may arrive at the particular opinions of these heretics, let us consider the passage in which they are described. The apostle warns the Colossians against that theosophy which he denominates vain and deceitful, because the superior wisdom of which it boasted was nothing but a delusion, stating at the same time that it was based on human traditions and Jewish-rabbinic rites, without proceeding from Christ or being in unison with his doctrine. In opposition to it, he sets forth the cardinal truth of the New Testament that the entire fulness of the divine perfections and the divine wisdom dwelt in Christ bodily—that He is superior to all angels and spirits—and that christians, by communion with him alone, receive everything in regard to the divine life and spiritual

* Spicilegium Patrum, Tom. I. p. 64.

† History of the planting and training of the christian church, translated by Ryland.—Vol. I. pp. 381, 2.

knowledge, which is needed for their complete happiness. United to, and engrafted in him, they require no other mediator. After affirming the spiritual circumcision of the Colossian believers, from which it may be inferred, that the errorists insisted upon the outward rite as necessary to Gentile christians, he reminds them that their sins were forgiven, that they had been delivered from the bondage of the law as a system of legal observances, and that Christ triumphed over all evil spirits—all the opposing powers of the universe—by means of his cross, publicly shewing that he was their conqueror. In consequence of this description of Christ's perfection on the one hand, and the completeness belonging to his people in union with him, on the other—because he is the head of the entire church and of all spirits—the Colossians are exhorted not to allow any man to condemn them in regard to the non-observance of ceremonial ordinances and Jewish rites pertaining to meats and drinks, new-moon feasts, holy days, or Jewish sabbaths, all which externals were only a shadow of futurities, Christ himself being the substance. They are farther admonished not to allow themselves to be beguiled, so as that they should lose the reward attached to faith in Christ, by a pretended humility and by the worship of angels, on the part of those who impertinently pryed into things hidden from human vision, and were vainly puffed up with carnal conceit. These persons did not hold fast *the Head*, from whom alone all growth and nutriment are communicated to the united members of the body. If, says the apostle, ye be dead with Christ to legal observances and superstitious rites, how can ye adopt, as if ye belonged to the world, maxims of human invention enjoining abstinence from meats and drinks; since all such material things are perishable and decaying. These false teachers viewed matter as the principle of evil, avoiding as much as possible contact with external things, especially with flesh and strong drink, because by these they were thought to expose themselves to the malignant influence of evil spirits who were connected with matter. Such ascetic practices have the appearance of superior wisdom in an arbitrarily invented worship, an affected humility which can only approach the Deity through the medium of angels, and in maceration of the body; but yet they have nothing excellent in themselves, or becoming to the body: they only serve to gratify the unrenewed mind by ministering to its pride and self-conceit.

It has been disputed, whether these heretics abstained from marriage, and entertained the *docetic* view of Christ's nature. In support of the former, Col. ii. 21 is adduced, particularly the expression $\mu\eta\ \alpha\psi\eta$, which is similarly applied in 1 Cor. vii. 1.

Reference is also made to 1 Tim. iv. 3, where it is implied that teachers of erroneous doctrine, similar to these at Colosse, enjoined celibacy at Ephesus. In favour of the latter, their notion in regard to matter, and the prevailing belief of most heretics afterwards called gnostics, appear to speak. But at the commencement, heresies were not developed in all their consequences; and the ascetics at Rome whom Paul mentions, were not *docetic*, (Rom. xiv.) Perhaps they did not hold these forms of asceticism. Certainly the data on which such peculiarities are assigned to them are indefinite and doubtful. The tendency of mind described is indeed one that would consistently lead to these manifestations of superstition; but the contents of the epistle scarcely justify the assumption.

Thus the whole passage justifies the idea, that the false philosophy combated by the apostle need not be derived in part from a source foreign to Judaism. It was the product of Jewish mind speculating upon divine things, and prying into curious questions, beyond the reach of human research. The traditions which the Judaists had received from their fathers, the cabbala with its complexity and its orders of beings, together with their own investigation of unseen things, sufficiently account for the opinions in question. These heretics did not adopt their peculiar creed directly from any other quarter. They found it in their own books; or rather, it had been already excogitated, and was then current. We need not, therefore, have recourse, with Kleuker, Hug, and Stuart, to the Chaldee or oriental philosophy, of which a full exhibition is given by Jamblichus. The legal rites of the Mosaic economy, in conjunction with those rabbinic-traditional observances which Jewish superstition had superadded, had been brought into the domain of Christianity. Thus the great doctrine of justification by faith alone was virtually impugned. Judaism was idealised; and a rigid asceticism founded upon the inherent evil of matter was practised. The errorists, whose principles we have been considering, indulged in philosophic and theosophic theories based upon ancient traditions; and were reluctant to renounce their pretensions to higher wisdom or their connexion with spirits, for the humbling doctrine of the gospel. Their pride could not deign to bow itself before the cross. They sought to cast christianity into the mould of their own theosophy.

But although it is superfluous to go beyond Judaism for the theosophy of the false teachers, yet there is reason for the opinions of such as find the source and exposition of the *philosophy* condemned by the apostle in the magian or emanation-philosophy. Were it expedient to trace the causes of the Jewish notions then so prevalent in Asia Minor, it might appear, that

the traditional belief of the Jews had been affected by that peculiar offspring of the oriental mind. Ever since the Hebrews resided in Babylon, they were, more or less, influenced by the religion of their Chaldean conquerors. Doubtless, that religion contributed to enlarge or to modify the previous articles of their faith. The Jewish people were ever inclined to engraft foreign superstitions on their national worship. The mixed race, afterwards called Samaritan, the majority of whom came from beyond the Euphrates, would probably vitiate the creed of their neighbours by a tincture of idolatry; for on the return from captivity, many of the restored exiles became intimately associated with that people. There was also a constant communication between the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the myriads of Jews who continued to reside beyond the Euphrates. The latter attended the festivals, and carefully observed other customs peculiar to their native land. Hence it is natural to suppose, that several features of the Magian religion would be communicated to the national belief. But this oriental philosophy was not the principal source from which the gnosticism of the errorists in question emanated. It had only an indirect and distant bearing upon their sentiments. There is also ground for the opinions of such as recognize in these false teachers Christian-Platonists, or Platonising-Judaists. There is little doubt that the influences arising from the new Platonism current in Alexandria, affected Cabbalistic Judaism. But it is not consistent with our present purpose to trace the history of Jewish opinions and traditions, else we should investigate with minuteness the Alexandrian tendencies as they contributed to form and change the speculations of the Jews residing in Egypt.

It might be shewn, in like manner, that such as find a condemnation of the Pythagorean philosophy in the present epistle, are not *wholly* in error. Plato adopted many of Pythagoras's opinions, especially his doctrines of *ideas*, and of the transmigration of souls. In the time of the Ptolemies, several philosophers of this sect fled from Italy to Alexandria, where Platonism was prevalent.

Still, however, it is not expedient to travel beyond the Judaism of the period for explanation of the passage in which the tenets of the false teachers are alluded to, since Magianism, Platonism, the philosophy of Greece, and Cabbalism as far as it was the genuine product of the Jewish mind itself, had previously imparted a considerable tincture to the creed of the Jewish people. Whatever portions of these systems were incorporated with Judaism, had been so intimately associated with it before the advent of Christ, as to form a part of its nature. They had been already wrought up into its component elements; and, unless we

go backward, to trace the history of philosophy, the intermingling of different systems, the points of contact they presented to traditional Judaism, and the localities where they were found by the ancient people of God, it is sufficient to take the current belief as it was. Nor should the attention be confined to Jewish opinions and tendencies. The direction of the cultivated heathen mind of Phrygia and Asia Minor generally should also be marked, as affected by the combined elements of different philosophical systems blending together.

After this illustration of the peculiar tenets propagated by the errorists at Colosse, it may be useful to state other opinions.

Some think that philosophy in general, *all philosophy*, is forbidden. So Tertullian, Euthalius, and Calixtus. Others restrict the warning given by the apostle to certain classes of philosophers, to the Epicureans, as Clement of Alexandria; the Pythagoreans, as Grotius; or to such as joined together the Platonic and Stoic doctrines, as Heumann imagines. None of these opinions can claim to be regarded with approval. *Heathen philosophy* the apostle cannot mean by φιλοσοφία, because it is spoken of as an emanation of Judaism, or, at least, as standing in close connection with it. Schoettgen, Schmidt, and Schult-hess, refer the description to the Pharisees. But the mental tendency described, is the opposite of the Pharisaic. The Pharisaic Jews were far removed from gnostic speculation and *false* asceticism. They were occupied with the outward and visible, to the neglect of that spiritual, world in which the imagination of the contemplative finds its congenial aliment. Others think, that the false teachers were Sabians or followers of John the Baptist. So Heinrichs. But this sect lessened the dignity of Christ, and unduly exalted the Baptist. They cannot, therefore, be the individuals here designated. Denying, as they did, the true Messiahship of Jesus, they excluded themselves from the pale of christianity. Besides, there is no trace of their worshiping angels.

Much nearer the truth are those who find the Essenes in this epistle. So Chemnitz, Zachariae, Storr, Flatt, Venturini, Michaelis, Credner, and Bertholdt. Many of the features drawn by Paul agree with the character of this sect as described by Josephus. Their asceticism is quite similar to that of the heretics who endeavoured to seduce the Colossian converts. The objection stated against this view, viz., that the Essenes were only to be found in Palestine and Syria, is of no force, as is shewn by Credner. Neither does their disinclination to proselytism form a valid objection; since other influences may have modified their original character. Perhaps, too, it is not conclusive to urge against it, the virtuous principles ascribed by

Josephus to the Essenes, viz., their modesty, piety, love of justice, benevolence, &c., as contrasted with the affected humility and empty pride of these false teachers. But the hypothesis is too narrow. There is no good ground for confining the individuals to the *Essenes alone*. Other Jews, besides the Essenes, manifested the mental bias delineated by the apostle, although it is quite probable that this sect furnished the majority of the errorists. They led a contemplative life, which agrees well with the general statements of our epistle; but they were not the only persons of that age, to whom the description applies. The true view, as it appears to us, has been given by Boehmer, Neander, Mayerhoff, and Olshausen.

The hypothesis of Scheckenburger and Feilmoser may perhaps require a separate notice. It is a modification of Eichhorn's. According to Eichhorn's opinion, the false teachers must have rejected Christ absolutely; but, according to this qualified aspect of it, they placed him among the mediating spirits whom they regarded with superstitious reverence as subordinate guides to the Supreme Deity. Thus the Saviour was lost, as it were, to view, amid a host of angels; and the question of his messiahship was naturally put aside by the errorists. Hence, their main object was to metamorphose into Jews such as had embraced christianity.* Their chief design was to bring over the christian church at Colosse into the territory of Judaism, rather than to connect their former theosophic views, by which they had spiritualized their Jewish creed, with the simplicity of the gospel. Thus, they are regarded as Jews rather than Judaizing christians. They ascribed to Christ a subordinate position, viewing him as the prophet of the heathen world; and to his religion, as intended for the heathen, a subordinate value. It is difficult, however, to see, how the apostle's reasoning is suited to the particular case of such persons. Doubtless his arguments refute these sentiments; but the question is, do they *primarily* and *directly* apply to them. It must be assumed that the apostle knew the exact nature of the errors disseminated. Whether he had received an account of them from Epaphras, or whether he had become acquainted with them from a supernatural source; in either case, ignorance of their precise form cannot be attributed to him. The more insidious the methods taken to seduce the Colossians, and the more artful the snares laid to corrupt them, the more imperative became the duty of tearing away the mask, and unfolding with the greatest plainness the real belief entertained by the heretics. But the apostle has οὐ κρατῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν, not ἔχων τὴν κεφαλὴν; and in the eighth verse of the second chapter, the words, *and not accord-*

* See Schneckenburger's Beiträge, p. 147 and p. 88.

ing to Christ, as subjoined to the preceding, would be irrelevant, not to say trifling, on the ground of these teachers being merely Jews. Besides, the writings of Paul show, that *Judaising christians* were far more frequent than mere Jews, that the latter gradually lost their proselytizing spirit as christianity prevailed, and that, when they adopted the new religion in any mode, however imperfectly, they sought to *amalgamate it* with their former creed, giving a preponderance to the peculiarities of the one or the other as their mental temperament, or previous habits, or degree of faith disposed them. The milder aspect of Judaism towards christianity, which Schneckenburger so ingeniously urges, would lead them all the more readily to incorporate the old religion with the new; or rather to embrace christianity as promising superior wisdom; and afterwards, upon partial disappointment, to bring it into the bosom of their former Jewish creed, instead of absolutely rejecting what they had once adopted. In proportion to the leniency with which they regarded christianity, would be the disinclination to proselytize to *mere Judaism*; and the consequent desire to go over, at least nominally, to the new religion. The truth of these observations will probably be more apparent when it is recollected, that the Ebionites are always regarded as a sect within the enclosure of visible christianity, though holding *very few* of its tenets, and but slightly differing, as Origen affirms,* from mere Jews. It is *possible* that the Ebionites may have been originally nothing but Jews; although we believe that they were always Jewish christians who denied the divinity of Jesus, asserting that he was only a man. A comparison of the pastoral epistles will also serve to prove, that the false teachers were *Judaising Christians*; since individuals holding the same tenets farther developed had elsewhere appeared,—Jewish gnosticising christians, as Paul's polemic observations in those epistles plainly teach. If there be any weight in these remarks, they will apply to every hypothesis which assumes that the heretical teachers were Jews alone, and must be carried back to the view already stated and commonly received, viz. that they were simply Essenes. One thing is certain, that the individuals in question are alluded to in such a manner as shows that they still stood by themselves, without the enclosure of the church.

It may be also observed; that no definite line of separation is drawn between the members who had imbibed erroneous notions, and those who steadfastly adhered to the simple faith of the gospel. The collected body of believers is addressed as forming one community. The wavering and the faithful are still joined in the fellowship of the church. This is implied in

* Commentar. in Matthæum, tom. xi. p. 249, vol. i. (Ed. Huet., 1679).

the 20th verse of the second chapter: 'Wherefore if ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why as though living in the world are ye subject to ordinances,' &c., &c.; for it is quite improbable that these words refer exclusively to such as had been shaken in faith by the heretics. The admonitions, instructions, and warnings of the entire epistle are addressed to *the church*; not merely to one section of it, or to certain individuals. In no case is one person singled out or appealed to; neither are several individuals addressed in contradistinction to the remaining believers. It has been well observed by Olshausen, that such a mode of writing is perfectly adapted to the first stages of the christian life. 'The first traces of heretical doctrine were exhibited at Colosse. The apostle hastened to crush them in the bud, and to bring back the straying to the right path. He had no ground for tracing these errors to wicked intention. He saw their origin in inexperience and weakness: hence he does not immediately apply strict rules; neither does he proceed forthwith to exclude them from church communion; but he advances with forbearance, considering and treating the erring as still members of the church, and seeking to bring them back to truth by a mild exhibition of their wanderings. Some years later the matter would have been far differently represented, when Paul, towards the close of his life, wrote the pastoral letters. The evil intention of the heretics had then openly appeared, and Paul dared not any longer make use of unreasonable mildness. The diseased members must be removed, in order to preserve the entire organization in a healthy state.'

Had the errorists in question been mere Jews, it is not easy to account for the mild polemics of the apostle, nor the full significance of his earnest and serious warnings against them. How is it possible that they should not have been openly condemned as anti-christians? If, as Schneckenburger affirms, the tolerance of these Jews towards christianity was merely an accommodation on their part, in order the more effectually to accomplish their object—an object that aimed at nothing less than the seducing of the Colossians away from the pale of christianity—should the apostle have been less direct or severe on this account in his condemnation of their designs? Would he not all the more plainly have warned the believers against their insidious arts? Every view of the subject that can be taken tends to the conclusion, that the errorists were not *merely* Jews, but *Judaizing christians*, with a strong mystic-ascetic bias.

II. It is a matter of great difficulty to ascertain whether Paul

had visited Colosse, and founded the church at that place, before writing the present Epistle. Some attribute the origin of it to Epaphras, or to one of Paul's immediate disciples; while others contend that it was planted by himself. The data upon which any hypothesis can be supposed to rest, are not so definite or satisfactory as the inquirer could wish. We shall briefly allude to the arguments advanced on both sides of the question.

Dr. Lardner has fully stated all the considerations that may be drawn from the epistle itself as well as that to Philemon, in order to support the hypothesis that the church was planted by Paul himself. No less than sixteen arguments are adduced with this view. A reviewer of De Wette's Introduction in the '*Hal-lische Literatur-Zeitung*' for 1828, advocated the same sentiments; which were also defended by Schulz in the '*Studien und Kritiken*' for 1829; by Schott, in his Introduction; and by Bishop Tomline. Wiggers has recently endeavoured to support them by new arguments, in the '*Studien und Kritiken*.' In early times, Theodoret had taken the same view. The great majority, however, of continental critics maintain the opposite opinion, such as Michaelis, Hug, De Wette, Boehmer, Steiger, Credner, Neander, Olshausen, and Guericke.

The following arguments have been adduced by Lardner and others:—

1. It appears from the Acts of the Apostles, that Paul travelled twice through Phrygia; and it is probable that in one or other journey he visited the principal cities, such as Colosse and Laodicea (Acts xvi. 6; xviii. 23). Was it possible that he should go through the country without planting churches in cities and towns so important as these?

2. The epistle exhibits proofs of the intimacy and affection subsisting between the apostle and the Colossian believers. Paul seems to have a correct knowledge of their state; is confident that they had been grounded and well instructed in the faith of the gospel; speaks of their love to him, and gives them such exhortations as imply a personal acquaintance, and induce the belief that they were first instructed by him. (See i. 6, 8, 23; ii. 5, 6, 7, 20—23; iv. 7—9; iv. 3, 4.) The salutations, too, in iv. 10, 11, 14, suppose the Colossians to have been well acquainted with Paul's fellow-travellers and fellow-labourers; while those in the 15th and 17th verses of the same chapter prove that the apostle knew the state of the churches in Colosse and Laodicea.

3. Epaphras was sent to Rome by the Colossians to inquire of Paul's welfare (iv. 7, 8), a token of respect on their part which presupposes a personal acquaintance. 'And it is allowed that Epaphras had brought to St. Paul a particular account of

the state of affairs in this church. Which is another argument that they were his converts.*

4. The Colossians were endowed with spiritual gifts (iii, 16), which they could not have received from any other than an apostle.

5. 'St. Paul does in effect, or even expressly, say that himself had dispensed the gospel to these Colossians, ch. i. 21—25. I shall recite here a large part of that context, ver. 23—25: 'If ye continue in the faith, grounded and settled, and be not moved away from the hope of the gospel, which ye have heard, . . . whereof I Paul am made a minister. Who now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh, for his body's sake, which is the church. Whereof I am made a minister, according to the dispensation of God which is given to me for you, to fulfil,' or fully to preach, 'the word of God.' And what follows to ver. 29.'*

6. It is written in chapter ii. 1, 2, 'For I would that ye knew what great conflict I have for you, and for them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh; that their hearts might be comforted, being knit together in love,' &c. Here the change of persons implies that the Colossians, to whom he is writing, *had seen his face*, else the writer would have said *your*, not *their*.

7. The Epistle to Philemon affords evidence that Paul had been among the Colossians. The 19th verse implies that Philemon had been converted to christianity by the apostle, probably at the home of the former. He also salutes by name Apphia, the wife of Philemon, and Archippus, probably pastor at Colosse; he desires Philemon to prepare him a lodging; Philemon is styled his fellow-labourer, and Archippus his fellow-soldier; all implying personal acquaintance and mutual co-operation in the gospel in one place, perhaps Colosse.

Those who think that Epaphras, or some other person, founded the church at Colosse, are wont to appeal to chapter ii. 1, believing that the clause, *and as many have not seen my face in the flesh*, includes the Colossians and Laodiceans preceding. Theodore and Lardner, as we have already seen, object to this interpretation on account of the sudden change of person; affirming that the apostle should then have written, 'that *your* hearts, &c.,' instead of '*their* hearts, &c.' They also refer to chapter i. 7, 'as ye have *also* learned of Epaphras, &c.,' words supposed to imply, that although the Colossians had been taught by Epaphras, he was not their *first* instructor; and to the expression, 'Epaphras who is one of you,' (iv. 12), which the apostle would not have applied to him had Epaphras founded the church; for

* Lardner.

the same is said of Onesimus who had recently been converted, (iv. 9). In speaking of Epaphras, the apostle never adds, 'by whom ye believed,' or, 'by whom ye were brought to the fellowship of the Gospel,' even when he recommends him to the esteem of the Colossians. Some have supposed Epaphras to be the same as Epaphroditus, one of the Philippian pastors. So Grotius, and apparently Winer. It is more probable, that they were different persons. So Steiger, Boehmer, Rheinwald, Lardner, Beausobre, Olshausen, and others.

In reviewing these arguments, various considerations suggest themselves to the mind of the impartial inquirer. It is remarkable that the apostle does not once allude to the fact of his having founded the church himself. This point is adduced on other occasions, especially when the members were in danger of being led away by Judaising teachers from the foundation he had laid; or when they had already apostatised. Thus in the epistle to the Galatians, i. 6., 'I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you into the grace of Christ, unto another Gospel.' It is no satisfactory reply, that the apostle deemed it unnecessary to state a matter so well known. If in other cases he mentions the circumstance as one that ought to carry weight along with it to the minds of those whom he had instructed in person; if in warning against the teachings and seductions of heretical disturbers, he exhorts to abide by what the churches had received from his lips, and calls attention to the diversity between his own doctrines and theirs, should we not expect a similar course towards the Colossians whose faith was in imminent danger of being corrupted? And yet his personal intercourse among them is neither named nor hinted at. Let the reader compare the procedure of the same Paul in the first epistle to the Corinthians, and a striking difference will be apparent, (1 Cor. iii. 1—10.) Even when commending Epaphras to their affectionate regard, he does not say, that he preached the same Gospel as they had already heard from his own mouth. He does not state, that he built upon the foundation which he himself had laid among them, or that they should implicitly receive his teachings, because such teachings exactly coincided with those which the apostle himself had propounded among them as the true foundation of their fellowship in the faith of the Gospel. All this is singular, if it be conceived that Paul himself planted the church. It is altogether in harmony with this peculiarity, that although various allusions are made to their having heard the gospel (i. 5. 23), it is never subjoined that they had heard it from himself; although this would have been highly apposite amid the concern expressed for their welfare and their leaning towards the heretics. The same force does not attach to Paul's mention of his hearing of

their faith and other virtues, since Epaphras's report concerning them does not affect the point before us.

It is true that the apostle speaks of the Colossians in such a manner as to shew his anxiety for their state, his knowledge of their circumstances, his familiarity with their belief, and with the progress they had made in divine things; but of these he was apprised by Epaphras. When it is recollected that the apostle had the care of all the churches upon him—that he was properly the pastor of all—that he watched over them with parental solicitude, although he may not have planted them personally, the passages supposed to denote a personal acquaintance, on his part, with the Colossians, will not appear strange. In relation to the messengers sent in various directions to the churches—the exhortations dispatched through them to the various christian communities, the affectionate counsels with which they were charged, the accounts in the New Testament are defective; but it may be well conceived that such things were frequent. In this way he came to know the peculiar influences to which the converts were exposed from without, as well as the internal elements which pervaded and leavened them in their social fellowship. How natural was it therefore, that the Colossians should entertain a high veneration for the great apostle. If they had love to all the saints, as is said in the first chapter (4th verse) most of whom they had not seen in the flesh, should they not have felt a higher love for Paul. They owed their conversion to him if not immediately, at least through the teaching of persons whom he had instructed and sent. They had heard of his abundant labours and self-denying zeal on behalf of the Gentiles, and they might look to him as their spiritual father in consequence of the relation which Epaphras and others sustained to himself and to them. Not to have written in this manner would have savoured of some other than the ardent and zealous apostle, whose heart was so large as to embrace within its capacious folds all the churches of the Saviour. For these Colossians not to have manifested their love to him, which they must have done chiefly through Epaphras, would have belied their profession and contradicted their christianity. Thus while the entire tenour of the epistle shews that the apostle is writing to converts, disciples, and friends, it is not necessary to assume that they were his *own immediate disciples and converts*. Those who imagine that they must have been such, measure the feelings of apostles and primitive christians by a modern standard. The coldness and negligence now so prevalent among professing christians, especially those whom Providence has placed at a little distance from one another, should not be transferred to the

apostolic age. That were to go in opposition to the testimony of ecclesiastical history.

That the apostle travelled twice through Phrygia does not prove that he visited Colosse and Laodicea. In his first journey he passed from Cilicia and Derbe to Lystra, thence through the north-eastern part of Phrygia to Galatia, Mysia, and Troas. Thus his route lay to the north of Laodicea, Hierapolis, and Colosse. In his second missionary journey, he went from Lystra to Phrygia, thence northward to Galatia, and subsequently to Troas. This route was also to the north of those three cities. He may indeed have turned aside from his direct way, and have traversed *all the country of Galatia and Phrygia* in order (Acts xviii. 23); but the word *all* is not in the original; and if Phrygia possessed sixty-two towns, it is impossible that he could have published the gospel in all. Probably, however, there were not so many towns at that period, as there were in the sixth century, according to the testimony of Hierocles. Theodoret thinks it strange that Paul should be in Phrygia and not visit the metropolis Hierapolis; but other cities may have been more important in the eye of the apostle. In regard to Colossians iii. 16, neither it nor the parallel place (Ephes. v. 19—20), implies the possession of miraculous gifts. Such an idea is not suggested by the natural, obvious interpretation.

The words 'for I would that ye knew what great conflict I have for you, and for them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh, that their hearts might be comforted,' &c. (Col. ii. 1, 2), have been urged by parties holding opposite opinions with regard to the founder of the Colossian church. The exposition of them by Theodoret and Lardner has been already mentioned. According to it two classes of persons are specified: first, the inhabitants of Colosse and Laodicea; secondly, those who had not seen the face of Paul. Hence the last clause intimates, by way of contrast, that the Colossians and Laodiceans had seen him personally, especially in connexion with the third person (*their* hearts, not *your*) immediately following. But the pronoun in the third person need create no difficulty. In consequence of ὅσοι, which precedes, the pronoun is put in *the third* instead of *the second* person, the rather because *they of Laodicea* are alluded to in the same person. On the supposition that the last clause explains the two preceding, and points to the circumstance that the Colossians and Laodiceans had not seen his face, there is a significance and coherence in the parts of the verse; but on the hypothesis of Theodoret and others, that significance is destroyed. 'I cannot persuade myself,' says Neander, 'that, if

the Colossians and Laodiceans had received the gospel from the lips of the apostle, he would have placed them so closely in connection with those who were not personally known to him, without any distinction, as we find in Colossians ii. 1; since, in reference to the anxiety of the apostle for the churches, it always made an important difference whether he himself had founded them or not.' The last clause is added for the purpose of shewing that the apostle's anxiety was more intense for such as were personally unknown, than for those whom he had planted and watered. The former lay nearer his heart, inasmuch as they were supposed to be weaker and more tender. Hence the phrase 'and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh,' is subjoined, with the object of expressing the vehemence of his inward conflict in relation to such individuals as he had not seen—a conflict all the more intense in proportion to the power of distance in magnifying dangers real or imaginary. Wiggers prefers the rendering '*also* for those (of the christians in Laodicea and Colosse) who have not personally known me;' but Neander justly observes that this is not natural; for if the writer had intended to express such an idea, he would hardly have failed to limit ὅσοις by adding ὁμῶν.

The conjunction καὶ (also) at the commencement of the seventh verse in the first chapter does not necessarily presuppose a previous instructor. It refers to the preceding statement. Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Scholz omit it as spurious; and Neander is inclined to adopt the same view. The word ἀπειμι in ii. 5, does not imply, as Wiggers thinks, that Paul had been once present, but is used in antithesis to his *presence with them in the spirit*: 'though I be absent in the flesh, yet am I with you in the spirit.'

With respect to Epaphras, he is styled *one of you* (iv. 12). Had Epaphras founded the church, the apostle, it is said, would not have applied such a phrase to him. This assertion is hazardous. Epaphras is described as a native of Colosse, and therefore he took an especial interest in the welfare of his own citizens and neighbours. When the apostle recommends him, what stronger terms could he employ than the following: 'Epaphras who is one of you, a servant of Christ, saluteth you, always labouring fervently for you in prayers, that ye may stand perfect and complete in all the will of God. For I bear him record that he hath a great zeal for you, and them that are in Laodicea, and them in Hierapolis' (iv. 12, 13)? What could have been more fitted to draw forth the affection and sympathy of the Colossians, or to fix their esteem? It is true that Onesimus is also described as one of the Colossians; but the subse-

quent words sufficiently distinguish the same phrase applied in the first instance to Onesimus, and in the second to Epaphras. No significance or emphasis could have belonged to an appendix to the name of Epaphras, such as 'by whom ye believed.' That would have been superfluous.

The epistle to Philemon does not afford sufficient evidence that Paul had been personally present among the Colossians. Philemon had been converted by Paul, not at Colosse, but rather at Ephesus. The salutation of Archippus by name, as well as Apphia his wife, does not argue previous personal acquaintance; although it is not improbable that some of these Colossians may have heard Paul preach at Ephesus, and have been converted by his ministry. Epaphras, however, had given him an account of these labourers in the common vineyard. On the whole, it is most probable, that the church at Colosse was planted by Epaphras. The notices of this person are very brief in the New Testament. It may be inferred from Col. iv. 12, that he was a native of Colosse. Paul styles him a *servant of Christ* (iv. 12), *my fellow-prisoner in Christ Jesus* (Philem. 23); and *our dear fellow-servant, who is for you a faithful minister of Christ*, (Col. i. 7). Perhaps he had been sent forth during the apostle's long abode at Ephesus, to preach the gospel in those parts of Asia Minor and of Phrygia, which Paul was unable to visit in person. It would appear that he was put into prison some time after he had visited the apostle at Rome. As he had been commissioned by Paul to proclaim the truths of christianity, all confidence was reposed in him. He taught the same doctrines, and inculcated the same duties as his inspired preceptor. If the apostles were *ambassadors for Christ*, or *in Christ's* stead, as is affirmed in 2 Cor. v. 20; their assistants and co-workers were, in like manner, *their* representatives. Hence Epaphras is styled (Col. i. 7), a faithful minister of Christ *in Paul's* stead (ὕπὲρ ἡμῶν, not ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν). It is by no means likely that the honour of founding the Colossian church was due to Timothy, although Michaelis inclines to that view. Yet Epaphras was not their only teacher. He was joined and assisted by others, such as Philemon and Archippus. This obviates the objection that the Colossians would not send away their apostle while the church was yet in an infant state. The apostolic churches had a plurality of pastors. They were not dependent on one individual for spiritual oversight.

III. *The authenticity* of the epistle is amply attested by quotations in Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian; and by various allusions in Justin Martyr and Theophilus of Antioch. Irenæus says: 'And again in the Epistle to the Colossians,

(Paul) says, Luke the beloved physician greets you.* Clement of Alexandria writes: 'And in the Epistle to the Colossians he (Paul) writes, &c.†' Tertullian has the following: 'From which things the apostle restraining us, expressly cautions against philosophy, when he writes to the Colossians, 'Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, contrary to the foresight of the Holy Spirit.'‡ The allusions of Justin Martyr may be found in his dialogue with Trypho, where he says: 'Christ is the first-born of all things made; the first-born of God, and before all the creatures.'§ Theophilus of Antioch, in his three books to Autolycus, writes: 'He begat this emanated Word, the first-born of every creature.'|| In like manner Marcion received the epistle into his canon, and Eusebius placed it among the acknowledged books (ὁμολογούμενα). But the universal reception of the epistle has recently found an exception in Mayerhoff, to whom may be added Professor Baur of Tübingen. The posthumous treatise of the former needs no formal refutation, since his arguments have attracted little attention and found no welcome response, even among his rationalizing countrymen. The stamp of authenticity is imprinted on every paragraph of the epistle. He who can believe that it was first composed in the second century out of the materials furnished by the epistle to the Ephesians, has certainly failed to perceive its characteristic peculiarities.

IV. V. The connexion between the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians has been treated in a preceding article,¶ as well as the time and place at which they were written.

VI. *Contents.* The epistle, like most others written by Paul, consists of two parts, a doctrinal and a practical. The first extends from the commencement to ii. 23; the second from ii. 24, to the conclusion. Each of these leading portions may be subdivided into two paragraphs, viz. I. (a), i. 1—23; (b), i. 24—ii. 23; II. (a), iii. 1—17; (b), iii. 18—iv. 18.

* Et iterum in epistola quæ est ad Colossenses, ait: Salutat vos Lucas, medicus dilectus (Col. iv. 14). Advers. Haeres., lib. iii. cap. xiv. sect. 1.

† Καὶ τῇ πρὸς Κολοσσαεῖς ἐπιστολῇ, Νοθετοῦντες, γράφει, κ. τ. λ. Strom. lib. i. p. 277 (ed. Colon. 1688). Conf. Strom. iv. p. 499; v. p. 576; vi. p. 645.

‡ A quibus nos apostolus refrænans, nominatim philosophiam testatur caveri oportere, scribens ad Colossenses: Videte ne quis vos circumveniat per Philosophiam et inanem seductionem, secundum traditionem hominum, præter providentiam Spiritus Sancti. De Præscript. Advers. Hær. cap. vii. p. 235.

§ πρωτότοκον τῶν πάντων ποιημάτων; πρωτότοκον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ πρὸ πάντων τῶν κτισμάτων.—Dial. cum Tryph. pp. 310—326 (Colon. 1686).

|| Τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἐγέννησε προφορικόν, πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως.—Lib. ii. p. 100 (ed. Colon. 1686.)

¶ 'Eclectic Review' for April, 1844, article 3.

I. (a). After the salutation, the apostle expresses his thanks to God for the faith and love of the Colossian believers and his unceasing prayer on their behalf that they might be filled with the knowledge of the divine will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding, so as to walk worthy of the Lord and well pleasing in his sight, abounding in good deeds of every kind, for which they were strengthened by the power of God working within them. He again expresses his thanks to God the Father, who had prepared him and the Colossians for the heavenly inheritance, since they had been delivered from the kingdom of ignorance, and translated into the spiritual kingdom of the Son, through whose blood alone are procured forgiveness and complete redemption. The mention of Christ and his atonement suggests the propriety of describing his person and dignity. Accordingly, he is declared to be the Eternal God, the creator and upholder of all things and all beings in the universe, the head of the church, and the first-born of the dead, having pre-eminence over spiritual intelligences as well as renovated humanity. This description was primarily directed against the false teachers, who, by placing the Saviour on an equality with angels, lessened his essential dignity. As Lord over all, Christ is said to have reconciled all things by his blood, and the Colossians also, divested of their previous enmity, to the end, that if they continued steadfast in the faith of the gospel, they might be presented faultless in the immediate presence of the Almighty.

I. (b). In this paragraph the apostle expresses his joy in the office to which he had been called, notwithstanding all his sufferings, because these very sufferings tended to promote the progress and to subserve the completeness of the church universal. In discharging the duties of his ministry he affirms that he had to preach the gospel fully, to instruct and warn all men, both Jews and Gentiles, and to present every one perfect in Christ. It was for this that he laboured and earnestly strived, especially for the christians at Colosse and Laodicea, and as many as had not seen his face. For them he entertained the most earnest solicitude that they might be established and knit together in love, being fully assured in their understandings of the mystery of God—the divine purpose of blessing mankind in that Saviour in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. He then proceeds to caution them against a deceitful wisdom grounded upon human authority, and not derived from Christ. In opposition to a philosophy so false and dangerous he reminds them that all the fulness of the Godhead dwelt in Christ bodily, and that they themselves had been spiritually quickened by his grace, having been delivered from the yoke of legal observances

and superstitious rites. They ought not to allow themselves, therefore, to be seduced from the gospel by a pretended wisdom, which affected intercourse with angels and spirits, enjoined the observance of ceremonial ordinances, abstinence from meats and drinks, and an ascetic neglect of the body. If they had died with Christ to the law, why should they be again entangled with the yoke of bondage?

II. (a). This section is occupied with general precepts of a practical kind, in which the readers are exhorted to be heavenly minded, to withdraw their affections from sinful objects, to crucify the lusts of the flesh, to lay aside such practices as those in which they had once indulged, and to be clothed with virtues belonging to the renovated nature. They are exhorted above all to have the love and peace of God predominant in their hearts, to edify and admonish one another in their mutual intercourse; and at all times to give thanks to God the Father, who had created them anew after the divine image.

II. (b). The apostle now subjoins various directions regarding domestic life, especially the relative duties of husbands and wives, parents and children, servants and masters. To these is added an exhortation to continued prayer, combined with watchfulness; prayer, in particular, for the writer's release, that he might be at liberty to preach the gospel. He refers them to Tychicus, the bearer of the letter, for information regarding his state; as also to Onesimus, of whom he speaks with affection. The concluding verses are occupied with salutations from various individuals, and an injunction to have the present epistle read before the Laodicean church, while the epistle sent from Laodicea to Paul should also be read in the church at Colosse. The apostle concludes by subscribing the epistle with his own hand, and thus imprinting upon it the seal of authenticity.

Art. III.—*Reynard the Fox: a renowned Apologue of the Middle Ages, reproduced in Rhyme.* Longmans.

AMONG the works which, during the middle ages, obtained a wider popularity than the most popular in the present day can boast, 'The most pleasant and delightful History of Reynard the Fox,' as it was called by our earliest translators, held perhaps the first place. Germany, France, and the Low Countries, each claimed the honour of its birth-place. For many centuries this was the story to which the populace listened with untiring delight; and from the introduction of printing even to the present day, it has often been found, in the rudest form, the sole book

which the German or Flemish peasant calls his own. In England this widely-celebrated 'brute epic' seems to have been known from a very early period; introduced probably by the Flemish burghers, who were so constantly visiting our ports with their merchandize. And although during the middle ages 'Reynard the Fox' never superseded the popular tales and ballads of genuine English growth, at the close of the fifteenth century, and during the following period, it took its place among the books of the people; and many a black-letter copy, and many a later one, printed on coarsest paper and with well-worn types, still attests how interesting and amusing the story of Reynard's unequalled cunning was formerly considered.

A work which attained so wide and so lengthened a popularity, must have possessed a merit of some kind; and therefore we fully agree with the present translator, that 'not without reason on their side are they, who charge it against our early writers upon books, as a very heinous sin of omission, that they should barely have alluded to the existence of a work perhaps the most notable of all the compositions which have come down to us from the early middle age;' a work, we may add, which, from its wide-spread popularity, must have been influential in no common degree.

The same obscurity which hangs over the birth-place of 'Reynard the Fox' rests also upon the era of its production. 'As to its origin, all is dark and uncertain; the more we investigate, the older grows the poem.' In a more elementary form it has been traced as far back as the ninth century; but certain it is, that before the close of the twelfth it was recognized as a well-known work—Richard Cœur de Lion referring to it in one of his satirical poems. That it is very ancient in its origin is, we think, to be deduced from the form of the story alone; one in which the scene is laid not in courts or cities, but in the wild wood, and in which the interlocutors are all brutes.

At first sight, and ere we have become acquainted with the singular skill with which the tale is constructed, and the wonderful force and spirit with which each character—brute though he be—is delineated, we might think this form would militate against its popularity; but the history of popular literature—we use the term here, not in its general, but its strictly specific sense—has shown that 'the brute fable' is most frequently to be met with in the earliest stage of a nation's literature; and that so strongly does the uncultivated mind cling to that species of fiction, that an appeal through the medium of fable to a rude multitude has often proved successful, when close reasoning or earnest and eloquent pleading would have been alike in vain.

And it is natural that this should be so. The mass of the populace, unused to a wide range of thought, have many tastes in common with children, and we all know with what intense delight they listen to stories, in which the lower order of animals are the speakers and actors. It would seem, indeed, as though the slowly awakening imagination required to descend, ere it soared upward. Now the bird, the beast, even the fish, endowed with speech and reason, are not so widely removed from common apprehension as the wild and beautiful, or awful beings which find a place in the popular legends of a more advanced stage of the human mind. The habits of the talking brute belong to every day life, and all his characteristics, whether they refer to his original condition or to his superadded rationality, are still what every mind can comprehend. His very virtues,—fidelity, honesty, kindly feeling, require no effort of the imagination to realize, and his evil qualities,—ferocity, gluttony, force, fraud, cunning, are but the transcript of what may be seen all around.

While we willingly yield our admiration to the artistic skill displayed in the construction of the great 'brute epic' before us, and acknowledge the inimitable talents and knavery of its hero, we still feel assured, that had the poetry, or the characters, been of a higher order, the marvellous popularity of the work would have been proportionably circumscribed. But, although of poetic passages there are very few, and the morality is genuine common place, worldly morality, there is a dramatic character, and a vein of keen, biting, flashing satire throughout, which proves that the most authentic version of 'Reynard the Fox,' though probably constructed from a much older poem, was the production of no barbarous age. We have already remarked, that France, Germany, and Flanders, have each laid claim to it. Much criticism and research have been bestowed by continental scholars on this subject, and the weight of evidence seems to assign to Flanders or North Western Germany the honour of its birth, and about the commencement of the thirteenth century for its date. It was at this period, the most important and stirring of the centuries of 'the marvellous middle ages,' that 'the citizen class made gigantic strides towards the crection of that order of middle rank'—

'in the continental states throughout Germany and Flanders, no less than in Italy and France—in all laying the foundations of that fabric which speedily grew up into a rival stronghold of political power, and set up the burgher commonalty of the towns, in array against the feudatories of the territorial lords. Already had the genius of commerce made her habitation in the Hanseatic Towns; whilst Augsburg, Nuremberg, and other cities of Northern Germany, were fast following

in the wake of busy enterprise and mercantile activity—in amassing the gold which was to be freely bartered for the purchase of privileges from needy barons, made bankrupt by the costly rage for crusading in the Holy Land. These were times of earnestness and endeavour—everything was earnest; men were earnest, and so were their thoughts—their writings; even the romance of life consisted in its reality. Action was the sphere of the higher and ruling, as fact and unsophisticated observation of things as they were, the province of the recluse and reflecting classes. In the camp was bustle and alarum; at the mart was venture and enterprise; in the Church no sleeping, and in the cloister no lassitude: princes, priests, peasants and peers, were alike busy, and alike observed. Even ‘the Schoolmaster’ was out and abroad—and then, more than at any time since, men lived *sub ferulâ* of the satirical spirit of the age: apologues, apothegms, fables, didactic tales, and pointed pithy diatribes, soaring at the higher quarries, and stooping to the meanest game, were hurtling their shafts through the air, and helping the Walpurgis din of human life.’—Introduction, p. 22.

It was then, as the eloquent Görres remarks, ‘That in a climax of bitter and earnest significance, ‘Reynard the Fox—that great world panorama—was evoked, and stood out in relief, the literal shadow of an imperishable age.’

But it is time to turn to the story, and the opening verses will give the reader a good specimen of the hearty, merry, downright style in which the whole tale is told:

‘ Now Pentecost, the Feast, by some
 Called ‘ merry Whitsuntide,’ was come !
 The fields shewed brave, with kingcups dight,
 And hawthorns kercheft were in white :
 Her low-breathed lute the freshening rill
 Unto the wakened woods ‘gan trill ;
 Whilst, hid in leafy bower remote,
 The Cuckoo tuned his herald-note :
 The meads were pranked in gold and green.
 And ‘ leetel fowles’ of liveried sheen,
 Their pipes with *Jubilate !* swelling,
 From bush and spray were philomelling—
 The breeze came balmy from the west,
 And April, harnessed in her best,
 The laughing sun led forth to see—
 When Noble (Lion-King was he,
 And sceptre swayed o’er Bird and Beast)
 Held ancient ways, and kept the Feast.
 The trumpets clang’d loud proclamation—
 The courtiers coursed throughout the nation—
 Full many a Brave and many a Bold
 Came hastening in troops untold—
 Valiant worthies, Lords of Feud—
 From russet glade and good green wood ;

Long-Bill, and Maggie, the Crane and the Pie,
 With all the elite nobility.—
 For as the King was full intent
 On entertaining all who went
 With royal cheer and deep bibation,
 They scented far the invitation,
 Great and little, all, save one—
 True model of his mother's son :—
 The Fox. . . . '—pp. iii, iv.

And he, conscious of his many evil doings, kept away. Many and grievous are the charges brought against him ; and the wolf, the dog, the cat, and the hare, in turn, ask justice of the king. Greybeard the badger, however, undertakes to vindicate Reynard, which he does in an excellent piece of special pleading, ending with a compliment to the king, and an assurance that

' Reynard's an estimable man—
 He brooks not evil deeds to scan :
 And since the King's last peace, you'll find,
 Its breach hath shunned of every kind.
 One daily meal he scarce partakes,
 And lives, like Anchorite, on cakes.
 With stripes his body chasteneth sore—
 All out of godliness—nay, more—
 The holy man coarse sackcloth wears,
 Eschews all flesh—on salt fish fares :
 No tempter can the saint entice
 From Malepart, his fortalice :
 In cloister-cell, pinched, wan, and wasted,
 He moans his sins, and leaves untasted
 All day his frugal meal, to fast,
 Till penance lift his load at last.'—p. xij.

The reader will readily perceive in these sly hits at the devotees of the day, how irritating to the clergy was the 'Pleasant History of Reynard the Fox.' The ingenuity of the badger might have prevailed, had not chanticleer, with a sorrowing train, come forward to complain of this fasting anchorite having killed nineteen out of twenty-four chickens ! The king, therefore, waxes very wrath, and sends Bruin, the bear, to command his attendance. Bruin sets off with humourous self-importance, not doubting but he shall be more than a match for the crafty fox. Reynard welcomes him right lovingly, and on pretence of showing him a store of honey in the stump of a tree, leads the poor bear to place his paws in it, and then, withdrawing the wedge, leaves him fast prisoner. The cat is next dispatched for the refractory culprit ; and he is beguiled by the story of fat mice in the parson's barn, and caught fast in a noose. Both vic-

tims, after many disasters, appear before the king, and relate their misfortunes. Unable to obtain a more trusty messenger, the badger is now sent; and Reynard, secure in his matchless cunning, boldly sets off to court. On the way, being very devout, he proposes to make confession of his past sins, and, after detailing sundry vulpine enormities, he prays absolution:—

‘ Greybeard considerably revolved
How best such sins might be absolved.
At length, a twig he snapped from tree,
And said: ‘ Coz! give yourself stripes three
With this small twig; thereafter do
As furthermore I tell to you.
Set down the twig; then over it
Jump thrice: and turn about a bit:
Then back again, and kneel down low:
(Nor sign of hate nor malice, shew)
And kiss the rod. This is expedient:
It ’tokeneth you are obedient.
Behold the penance I impose!
And from its due observance flows
Forgiveness of all sins on earth,
Committed from the hour of birth.’
Then Reynard cheerfully obeyed,
And straight dispatched the penance laid.
The Badger, next, the Fox did raise,
And said, ‘ My son, now go your ways:
Reform your manners; banish hence
All ill, with prayer and penitence,—
Sure means to obliterate the past—
Obey the law; observe each fast:
Keep well the Church’s ordinances:
Leave fowl: shun all seductive fancies:
Molest no more your neighbour’s wife:
Reflect: amend your reckless life:
Theft, murder, wrong of every kind,
Abhor, and certain grace you’ll find!’
Quoth Reynard, then, ‘ So be it: I
Will walk a new life till I die!’—pp. lxxij, lxxiij.

How biting is this satire. Reynard arrives at court, and in answer to the vituperations of King Noble, professes his absolute submission to him, as humbly as he had before done to holy church. But this is of no avail; he is condemned to the gallows-tree, he is brought forth, and the rope is about his neck, when, while the crowd are awaiting his last dying speech, he assures them something weighs most heavily on his mind, and it is, that his father has hoarded up an immense store of wealth, where, he only knew, and which was intended for the

purpose of overturning the state. King Noble, and the queen, now prick up their ears, command the rope to be loosed, and conjure the fox,—

‘ By his last hope
Of mercy and of happiness
Hereafter, he would straight confess
The whole of what he knew concerning
The treason.’

Reynard's speech is an admirable specimen of cunning knavery, playing, alternately, on the fears and covetous propensities of the weakminded. He involves friends and enemies alike in the charge of treason, and then paints so seductively the immense store of gold, silver, and precious stones of which he alone knows the whereabouts, that the easily-beguiled monarch begins to deem him his most steadfast friend, and he and the queen, both urge him to disclose the spot where this vast treasure is concealed. Reynard now, on promise of full pardon, tells them a fine roundabout story; begs them to go, unaccompanied, to the place, and, above all, to be particular as to the hard names which he pronounces. The king very naturally proposes to Reynard to accompany them, but the wily fox suddenly recollects that he is excommunicated, and, therefore, what a disgrace would it be for the king to go—

‘ With Reynard out a pilgriming.
’Twas but the other day that he
Did sentence him to death! now see!
He takes to honour, love, and cherish
Whom holy church casts out to perish!’

The gullible monarch, therefore, agrees that Reynard shall at once set out to Rome for absolution; and he, according, takes leave in the most devout fashion, begging the prayers of every one.

Again, is the knavery of the fox discovered; he has killed the hare, and he is proclaimed outlaw. In the discussions respecting this, there is much sly satire; and the forms of the feudal law courts are ridiculed with a rough humour which appears to us a strong internal proof that ‘Reynard the Fox,’ in its finished form, was the production of one of the burgher class. Reynard, however, does not wait for his assailants, but boldly sets out once again for the court. On the road, he meets Jocko, the baboon, who is going to Rome, and who promises, for a ‘consideration,’ to relieve Reynard from the toil of going thither himself, which he, apparently with great devotion, accepts. To beguile the way, he discourses freely of church and state,—the following is a specimen of his expositions:—

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‘ And then began
 Reynard a world of things to scan :
 Disserting much, from King to Clown,
 The vices of the Court and Town.
 But chief the Hierarchy lent
 The staple to his argument :
 And many a sad, severe reflection,
 With sign of much sincere affection,
 On holy men and things he uttered :
 Like bitter bread, with honey buttered,
 It smacked ; and so the Badger thought,
 As on his mind the sarcasm wrought.
 The fond regretful tone he used
 In his anathemas, infused
 A spicy flavour over all—
 The sugared spoon that stirred the gall !

The King by rapine lived, he said,
 As others did : and on this head
 The difference, he asserted flat,
 Was just no more than ‘ round the hat !’
 What ’s virtue in the one, was vice
 In t’ other, by distinction nice.
 But were it not for monks and priests,
 He said, who rioted at feasts,
 And in excess of every sort
 Grew fat, and frolicsome for sport,
 And in their wantonness of heart
 Such bad example did impart,
 That others of less holy station
 Could not escape contamination—
He never had to sin inclined,
 Nor steeped in wickedness his mind :
 To carnal thoughts had ne’er descended ;
 Nor had his feet once thither tended
 Where Mother Church forbad to stray,
 Had not her Sons first led the way.

Yes, Greybeard ! Just look at the clergy !
 Good mixed with bad !—and yet, e’er heard ye
 Of any greater sins to others
 Ascribed, than to our surpliced brothers ?’ — pp. clxxiiij,
 clxxiv.

Arrived at court, his ready wit again saves him ; and he excites the interest of the queen by a second story, of a wonderful comb and looking glass which, he assures her, he had sent by the hare for her especial use ; but, to obtain possession of which, the hare had doubtless been murdered by his companion. The progress of doubt in King Noble’s mind, as to whether, after all, the Fox

might still be innocent, and the willingness to believe it, in spite of most conclusive evidence, when he finds that the Fox has still valuable jewels which he promises to give him, are painted by the hand of one who has deeply studied human nature ; while the circumstance of a culprit at the bar, telling one entertaining tale after another, as Reynard on this occasion does, reminds us forcibly of the simple state of society, and the eager thirst for 'some new story,' which distinguished those times, when the *disour* was the most cherished companion of princes. Here is a specimen,—an old fable, but never has it been told with more spirit.

' When Reynard thus perceived the sport
His tales afforded to the Court,
And how they riveted attention,
There seemed no end to his invention,—
He told them stories short and long ;
They seemed like Cantos to a Song,
Each of the other quite suggestive,
Converting gloomy thoughts to festive—
As how the Stork was once provoked
By Isengrim, when well-nigh choked
With some great bone : for Long-bill he
Sent off, to come immediately.
The Doctor to his roost had ta'en,
But quickly rose, and grasped his cane ;
Slipped on his shoes and shovel hat,
And sought the Wolf, who moaning sat :
He could not speak, but pointed to
His throat.—The Stork, as wont to do,
First felt his pulse, then shook his head,
Cried ' hem ! ' and said, ' you must be bled ! '
Whereat the Wolf, in angry wise,
Unto the Doctor's wondering eyes
Made plain the grievance—' Is it there ? '
Quoth Long-bill, and began to stare
Adown his gorge—' I'll have it out
In no time ! ' Then, to feel about
For spectacles he did begin,
And asked ' Who could have put it in ? '
The Wolf could make no answer, so
The Stork had nothing more to do
Than operate ; though much it went
Against his inclination's bent,
To prætermitt what forms prescribe—
Like all the Apothecary tribe !—
With bill for forceps, leisurely,
The sticking bone he then did free ;
And held his hand out for the fee.

Quoth Isengrim : ' No fee is due !
 The luckiest leech alive are you !
 Within my jaws your sconce hath lain—
 Yet see ! thou hast it whole again ! '—pp. ccv—ccvii.

At length Reynard, emboldened by the interest taken both by the king and queen in his pleasant stories, assumes a loftier tone, and demands that strict legal proof shall be brought of the truth of each and all of his numerous iniquities. King Noble is sorely puzzled how to act ; but not knowing what to do, he makes a right royal speech.

' Reynard ! I'd have you understand,
 That whilst I over this wide land
 Bear sway, none who for justice ask
 Shall go unheeded. Hard the task
 To arbitrate 'twixt right and wrong !
 You must have seen *that* all along,
 In your own case. Both sides I hear,
 But neither makes the matter clear.
 The Hare is killed—that's certain ! granted !
 Who killed him ? Here the answer's wanted.
 Some link is missing in the chain ;
 Therefore, at present, I refrain
 From further comment—nothing less
 I like, than law that's made to guess
 At guilt ;—and the accused, 'tis writ,
 Of doubt shall have the benefit.'

' Quoth Reynard then : ' My King hath won
 A victory o'er Solomon,
 In wisdom, equity, and law !'
 He turned, and by his side he saw
 The Badger, who, from first to last,
 Had marked with interest the cast
 Of all the dice : he had reliance
 On Reynard's tact, and looked defiance
 To all around—their glances met—
 At their embrace each eye was wet !
 With smothered laughter bursting nigh,
 Reynard made feint a deep-drawn sigh
 To heave, whilst (winking all the while)
 He whispered to his friend ' Old File !
 We've done 'em ! '—then aloud, ' One kiss !
 Oh ! Greybeard, what a world is this ! '—pp. ccxiii, ccxiv.

The result of this eventful history is, that the wolf Isengrim, Reynard's especial dupe, demands trial by battle. He flings down his glove, and the fox, sorely against his inclination, is compelled to take it up. The whole of this last 'fytte,' is a

keen satire upon chivalry; and the burgher poet, evidently enjoys the unfair and mean tricks which his hero plays off against his more valiant foeman. Reynard, eventually gains the victory, but as may be supposed, by most unfair means, and the king conferring knighthood upon him, creates him chancellor, in reward of his successful villainies. It was surely therefore in a vein of bitter irony, that the concluding lines of this 'delectable history' were written.

' Good Gentles ! heark'neth what I say ;
 And bear it well in mind, alway :
 Let every man to wisdom turn !
 Love virtue !—evil only spurn !—
 For that alone this book was writ :
 None other drift there is in it !
 About your hearts this precept bind :
 Keep good before, thrust sin behind.
 Cheap, too, this book : with it you buy
 Experience, free of penalty.
 The ' world and all its ways ' is here
 (For money, and the cost not dear !)
 In pleasant masque : read it ! 't will cheer
 Your Christmas hearth, for many a year !'—p. ccli.

Thus ends the story of ' Reynard the Fox.' ' That unholy bible of the world,' as it has been forcibly, but perhaps almost too severely called. The fate of the hero, certainly sets at naught every notion alike of poetical and common justice, for the proper reward of Reynard, was undoubtedly a halter. But then, the satire, keen and bitter, upon the world's ways,—on the triumph of fraud, even more than of might over right, the success of the wicked at the expense of the innocent, the present ascendancy of evil over good, that deep and vexing mystery to the merely worldly man, would have all lost their force, and the gall in which the satirist dipt his shafts, its significance.

In looking over this curious and valuable monument of an age which has never received an hundredth part of the attention its importance deserves, we have been greatly struck with its general similarity to another great work of a rather later period, our own noble vision of *Piers Ploughman*. And well, after contemplating the wondrous life-like creations of each great poet-satirist, may we exclaim with the fervent Görres ' What a marvellous period is this middle age ! How strong were then the people, shooting and unfolding like vigorous buds, all fresh and full of sap. Then, with energetic, truthful, life-reality, idealizing, spiritualizing poetry, stood in intimate union.' Yes, it is strange to those who look at the middle age period, as a dreary, misty, almost lifeless interval, between the stir and

commotion of the irruptions of the northern tribes, and the deeper stir, and more intense commotion at the period of the revival of letters, to find in the very midst of these dark ages, two satires, unexampled in the history of any other period, two satirical epics!

And how wide is the sphere of these two poems—human nature in all its weaknesses and in all its crimes; how extended the pictures,—classes of men, not insulated individuals; and above all, what bold enunciation of truths, which even in the present day, have yet a struggle to maintain their hold. Indeed, more surprising to the reader, unacquainted with the real character of the middle ages, than aught else, is the bold assertion of free principles, which characterizes alike ‘Reynard the Fox,’ and our own ‘Piers Ploughman.’ Much respect have each for the ‘divine right’ of king or priest; and it is a proof to how wide an extent the feeling of contempt for the established priesthood, and of very moderate respect for monarchs prevailed, when we find the Flemish minstrel of the twelfth century, and the recluse of Malvern in the fourteenth, holding the self-same views and expressing them with the self-same earnestness.

There is indeed a ruder spirit, a more scoffing, Mephistophiles character, speaking out in the earlier work, as though the Flemish bard who had seen his rights trampled under foot alike by a crushing native aristocracy and a foreign monarch, could give no quarter to king or noble; and as though he believed not only the priesthood, but religion itself, might perhaps after all be little more than a thing to conjure with; while a more gentle, and in consequence a more enlightened spirit, and a far deeper moral feeling, pervades the allegory of the Monk of Malvern. Still in the grand principles—that all government is for the benefit of the many, not for the gain of the few, and that the clergy form no class professing exclusive rights, but that they are to be judged of just as other men—the two satirical epics of the middle age wholly coincide.

At the present time, the works to which we refer possess a great historical importance. Those reverend gentlemen who are now so persistingly demanding from the public a homage which it is perhaps wise in them to claim, on some mysterious grounds, since obvious reasons there are none,—are always pointing us to these ‘dim ages of faith,’ as the period when the holy priest walked the earth, the gazed at, and admired of all beholders. Alas! for them—how does ‘Reynard the Fox,’ the very hand-book of the people, loudly laugh down their claims. But in France and Flanders, a scoffing, an infidel, spirit prevailed, it may be said; so no wonder the holy priest was an object of ridicule. Well then, turn to moral and religious England,—we

speaking not scoffingly, for again and again, when comparing the early literature of England with that of France and Flanders, have we been proud to mark the superior moral feeling of our early writers,—but as though on this very account, the feeling against the established clergy develops itself with increased bitterness.

It may be well to give an insulated passage from a chronicle, proving how some feeble old baron humbly did penance at the command of his confessor; how some dying usurer, fearful of purgatorial retribution for his ill-gotten wealth, joyfully gave up, not merely his tithes, but all he possessed, to the priesthood; or, even how some weak-minded princess might constitute her favorite chaplain keeper of her conscience, and far more gratifying,—of her purse also; but what was the *general* feeling in 'those ages of faith'?—the public, the popular opinion, for there *was* a public opinion then, although there were no newspapers to set it forth. Shall we discover much 'reverence for holy church in the persons of her ministers,' in the scoffing ballads of the de Montfort-rising; in the nick-names bestowed upon the bishops of Hereford and Winchester, or the abuse, how awful! heaped upon the venerable Boniface, primate of all England? Or will these reverend gentlemen, turning with scorn, from the 'sayings and doings' of rebels, as they would call the followers of de Montfort, point us to the following century. Why then things were worse, for the respect in which prelacy was held was rather curiously exemplified by the Londoners when they publicly beheaded one of Bishop Philpots's predecessors, Walter de Stapleton, on plea that he was an enemy to the liberties of the land.

But this execution, it may be said, took place during a period of great excitement. It did so, but had the mass of the people held the clergy in that mysterious respect which their successors claim, they would never have dared to drag a bishop to the scaffold. Men possessed discrimination in the middle ages, and where the clergy were respectable, and consequently respected, they were safe in times of wildest commotion. The rude mob of Wat Tyler, burnt down the palace of the bishop of London, but though encamped in Smithfield, laid not a hand on the plate or money belonging to the priory of St. Bartholomew the Great, that refuge for the sick and destitute; nor, although they burnt and spoiled the Commandery of St. John of Jerusalem, did they touch the convent of the nuns of Clerkenwell. It was against the lordly, the wealthy, the overbearing clergy, that the hostility of the middle ages was directed.

But then, the 'burgher spirit,' we may be told, has always been insubordinate and insolent; and the dwellers in cities,

from the time of the rise of the German free burghs, to the days of the psalm-singing weavers of Norwich and Taunton, and the lecture-loving apprentices of London, have always been distinguished for resistance, 'to the mild rule of holy church.' No, it is not to London, or to the other cities, where the enterprising spirit of England first found a home that we should look, but to the fair villages, and pastoral glens of 'merry England in the olden times.'

Well, look there; and bitter abuse of the clergy, and fierce denunciations of the exactions of the spiritual courts, meet us, as the earliest expression of rustic feeling.* But, 'merry England' has a hero, who serves as an exemplar to the peasantry, just as King Arthur and Sir Launcelot, serve as exemplars to the higher orders. And who is he? and what are *his* characteristics—reverence for 'church and state,' humble submission to the spiritual powers that be? Bold Robin Hood, how does thy laugh ring through the merry greenwood! The pursy cellarer of St. Mary's abbey is a prisoner in his hands, and Robin thinks he does holy church good service by mulcting her servant well, and bestowing the spoil on the poor knight from whom it had been taken. The bishop himself rides through the forest with well appointed ménage, he is seized, and compelled to sing mass in a tree, as the price of his liberation. In the name of common sense, what reverence for the clergy could there be in days when ballads like these were sung in every market-place, and echoed on every village green? Where was respect for the servants of holy church? Echo might well answer 'where.'

We cannot conclude without expressing our admiration of the masterly style in which Mr. Naylor has 're-produced' this curious and valuable 'brute epic.' We must also remark, how tastefully correct is the whole 'getting up.' Familiar as we have been with many of the most beautiful manuscripts of the 12th century, we were astonished at the close resemblance of the title page, and headings of the chapters, to the choicest specimens of the middle-age calligrapher. The binding, even to the spirited little vignettes on the sides, is in perfect keeping; and the book, while it forms an important addition to the scholar's library, would be an ornament for the drawing room table.

* Vide 'Political Songs,' edited by Wright.

Art. IV. *The History of Sweden, translated from the Original of Anders Fryxell.* Edited by Mary Howitt. 2 vols. London: Richard Bentley.

THIS translation is extremely well timed. It is an auspicious feature of the present day, that it has turned a portion of its vast activity towards a better acquaintance with those northern nations of Europe from whom we derive so much of our language, our customs, our national spirit, and our blood. The neglect of almost all endeavour to make this acquaintance, till recently, is an extraordinary circumstance, when we consider the knowledge of our own history, and the history of the origin and growth of our institutions and language, of which those regions are the great storehouse; and perhaps can only be accounted for by the fact of our always talking and writing of the savage Danes as the enemies of our Saxon ancestors, and of our looking to Germany as to our great original fatherland. But the fact is, that it is far more to these northern nations than to Germany as a nation, that we owe our speech and customs. This speech and these customs were derived chiefly from the tribes of the eastern shores of Germany, and those whom we are accustomed to class under our vague name of Anglo-Saxons, were that great tribe or section of the Teutonic family which stretched itself along the whole north-eastern shores of Europe, from Lapland to France. These were originally but one people, and their languages at the present day remain but so many dialects of the same primitive tongue. The Plat Deutsch, or low German, spoken in Holstein, is far more distinct from the German, than from the Danish or the Belgian; and so much greater is the affinity of this language to our own tongue than the modern German is, that some of our English dialects are but slight variations of this language. Hence, he who instead of confining his study to modern German or to ancient Anglo-Saxon, applies it to any one of the branches of this extensive language, soon finds that he has a key to all the tongues of this far-stretching region, and that in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holstein, Holland and Belgium, he hears at the present hour but modifications, and those very intelligible ones, of the sounds that were heard on our hills and plains, when Dane and Saxon contended for the mastery of this fair isle.

It is evident, therefore, what a flood of light remains yet to be poured from this vast and ancient source on many matters of the liveliest national interest to us. In the department of derivative philology alone, the study of these languages is indis-

pensible. When we take up that stupendous work of human industry, Dr. Johnson's Dictionary, we know not whether more to lament the inadequate knowledge of the great lexicographer for his task, or to admire the ingenuity with which he disguised it. The Doctor had no knowledge of German, about as little of Dutch, except such as looking into a Dutch Dictionary could give him, and even his acquaintance with Anglo-Saxon was superficial. Of Plat-Deutsch and the Scandinavian tongues, he was utterly ignorant. Hence we have derivatives of our words, at third, and fourth hand; in many hundred instances we never come near the root, and have often even French where we should get Danish or Norwegian. As the cultivation of the mother-tongue proceeds, there will come for some future lexicographer the arduous, but most interesting, task of a thorough revision of the labours of Johnson. To take one out of innumerable instances, we shall then not have such a word as 'clover' derived from Anglo-Saxon, but from the direct Swedish Klöver, or more direct Danish, Klover, because it is *clove*, the present Danish word, for divided, meaning also a cross, from the manner of this division. The student of these languages, indeed, can turn nowhere without seeing traces of them all over England in the names of people and places. It is curious, especially in the neighbourhood of London, to see in the Hacons, the Rolfs, the Snewins, the Snellins, the Harolds, Swains, Swainsons, Stensons, and similar names, the descendants of the great Danish leaders who distinguished themselves in the attacks on this part of the kingdom, and made good their settlement here. Again; in our names of towns and villages we often find not so much a German as Scandinavian foundation; Skegby, the building in the wood; Holmby, the building on the island; Kirkby, the church building, &c. But in the laudable work of tracing the origin, and composing complete glossaries of our different dialects, in which so much progress has been made of late years, this northern fountain of original language presents the most wonderful wealth. It is marvellous with what a tenacious and unchanging hold the common people in most parts of the kingdom have preserved their *mother-tongue*, from the days of the Danes to the present. We have been astonished in the cottages of Lancashire we aver, to hear the people calling spiders *Attercops*, a name not derived from the *aranea* of their Roman progenitors, or the *spinne* of their German ones, nor even from the *spindel* of their Swedish ones, so commonly confounded with the Danes, but from the pure Danish term, which has thus clung there unchanged for a thousand years.

Our purpose being at present not philologic or dialectic, we merely allude in the most passing manner to these important

facts. In history we come at once into the most interesting and exciting position. We have the very people as actors in the earlier periods, whom we are accustomed to regard with terror, as the *savage Danes*; they, who carried fire and devastation among the Saxons, and made themselves, as vikings and warriors, a dread and deathless name in our annals. We here learn how they regarded the magnificent isle of England and its people. What were their views and feelings and motives in their expeditions; and we have a strange, wild picture of their life at home in their native north, handed down in their songs and *sagas*, or legends. To this singular scene we seemed to be first amusingly introduced by Mr. Laing's travels in Sweden, Denmark, and Norway; and his recent publication of a translation of the Heimkringla, or Saga of Snorro Sturleson, has further unfolded it. We have the very battle of London bridge with the Danes, and their various expeditions against this country, recorded by their scalds, or accompanying poets, and transferred thence to the pages of their sagas. In the first volume of the history now under review, we possess these in a more compact form, and bearing only their due proportion to the whole national history. These circumstances are of themselves sufficient to invest this history with a high interest, but the introduction by Mrs. Howitt of the admirable *Tales of Everyday Life of Miss Bremer* to our literature, has given a still quicker impulse to our curiosity. We desire to learn something more of the progress and present condition of a people originally so nearly allied to us, and now showing that they can even charm and improve us by their living literature.

The Swedes possess two eminent living historians Gejer and Fryxell. Gejer's history is an admirably philosophical and detailed history, and invaluable to the native, or the minute inquirer, who is anxious to make himself profoundly acquainted with the uttermost facts and springs of action of the Swedish annals. Fryxell has aimed to be more popular. He styles his work himself, '*Berättelser ur Svenska Historien*;'—'*Relations from Swedish History*.' This is, however, rather what he at first intended to make it, than what he has made it. In the preface to this translation, written by him expressly for it, he says,—'The first three volumes (the portion embraced in the two volumes here translated), including the time from Odin to Erik XIV., deposed in 1569, were the author's first essay, in the compilation of which he considered the taste of the general readers alone, and therefore consulted only the ordinary printed authorities; but, in the latter volumes, he has more and more availed himself of the hitherto untouched treasures of the

archives; and thus by greater detail endeavoured to diffuse a clearer light over certain events hitherto but partially known.'

This seems to us the most rational of all modes of writing a national history, and to have been very fortunate for the popularity of Fryxell's work. To compress the dim subjects of unwritten tradition, and to expand as the narrative advances into more known and important periods, is to keep the true measure of the reader's interest. Accordingly, the second of these volumes rises far in interest over the first, and is, in truth, a most deeply engrossing narrative. We shall, therefore, take but a cursory view of the first volume. It opens with a well-digested and sufficient description of the Scandinavian mythology, highly valuable as illustrative of succeeding parts of the history, and which shows us that the details of those wonderful things given us in 'Mallet's Northern Antiquities,' are very defective in their nomenclature, being obviously derived from a German medium, and having therefore all the proper names Germanized. The volume then embraces the heathen epoch from 100 years before Christ to A. D. 1061, or nearly the time of our Norman conquest; a period rather of wild tradition than of history; and then advances to the deposition of Christian I. in 1464. Histories of Sweden are not wanting in English, but being derived as they are from secondary sources, we feel, in perusing this fresh from the hands of a native, to whom all legitimate sources are open, a novel and totally different interest; nor should we do justice to it, did we not give a brief specimen or two of the contents of its earliest portion.

Bodwar, a Norwegian hero, is travelling towards the court of the celebrated Danish king and warrior, Rolf, when, during a night's lodging in the cottage of an old man and woman, as the old man and Bodwar were conversing, the old dame began to weep aloud:—

“Why weepest thou?” asked Bodwar. “Ah!” said she, “we had once a son called Hottur, who went to the king's court for pleasure, but the men-at-arms made joke of him, and set him in a heap of bones in a corner of the hall, and it is now their amusement, during meals, to throw the bones they have picked, upon him, which sometimes wound him sadly. I shall never get him back again, neither do I know if he be alive or dead. Now, I ask nothing from thee for this thy night's lodging, but that thou wilt not cast the larger but only the little bones on my son, for thy hands look so strong and so heavy, that he could scarcely bear a blow from them.”

Bodwar promised this, and expressed his opinion that he did not think it very creditable to beat a man with bones, or to use rough play with children or weak people.

This peep at the manners of a Danish king's court at that time is more fully opened on Bodwar's arrival.

KING ROLF'S COURT.

'The following day Bodwar reached Lejre. He led his horse himself into the king's stable, without saying a word to any one, and then went up to the castle. Both the dogs came raging towards him; but he instantly lifted the large stone which lay at the castle gate, and which every one who would be accepted in the king's service must show himself able to raise. With this he slew one dog, and with this dog he killed the other. He then entered the hall, when king Rolf reproached him with the murder of the dogs; but Bodwar made answer, that every freeborn man had a right to defend his own life as long as he could. The king praised his bravery, gave him the surname of Bjarke, and placed him in one of the chief places at his table. Now, when the men had drunk freely, they commenced, according to custom, to pelt each other with the bones they had picked, which occasioned a great uproar through the hall. Bodwar now perceived a great heap of bones in one corner, and on advancing to it, discovered Hottur sitting, dirty, ragged, and trembling within a high wall which he had cleverly contrived to build round him of the bones which had been thrown at him, to preserve himself by this means from being hit by others. Bodwar knocked down the wall, took Hottur by the arm, and lifted him up from amidst the bones; at which he cried and exclaimed pitifully, believing that Bodwar meant to kill him. But Bodwar took him to his own place, and made him stand there behind him. As soon as the courtiers saw Hottur, they began to throw bones at him, so that they often struck Bodwar also; but of this he took not the slightest heed, but only held Hottur fast, who trembled and shook for fear, and desired nothing so much as to run back and hide himself among his bones again. At last he observed one of these warriors fling a great knuckle-bone with all his might at Bodwar, and set up a cry of distress at the sight; but Bodwar caught the bone in his hand, and slung it back with so much strength, that the man fell dead beneath the blow. At this the rest leapt up to defend their brother in arms, but the king forbade it, saying, 'That Bodwar had only defended himself, and that this custom of throwing bones at innocent, unarmed people, was a bad custom of his warriors, and a mark of great contempt and disregard to the king; and that it was time that it should now be given up.' Bodwar, after this, rose yet higher in the king's estimation, so that he was considered the chief among the courtiers. Nevertheless, he never forgot Hottur; but, having washed him clean, and given him fresh clothes, took him always with him wherever he went, and defended him from the jokes and mockeries of the rest.'

Bodwar obtained his wife in a manner equally singular:—

'During this time it happened that a very mighty Berserk (hero,) arrived from Blueland, as Africa was then called, and the negroes,

bluemen. He was called Sot, and brought with him many ships, and a body of chosen troops. He went up into the king's hall with his men, and asked the king's sister Drifva to wife, or else challenged the king to single combat. This the king refused, whereupon the giant mounted the steps of the throne and struck at the king; but Bodwar parried the blow with his good sword, which broke that of the giant in pieces. Bodwar then cleft his head, and all the Bluemen fled affrighted from the hall. Bodwar and the rest pursued them, hewing them down, as far as their ships, where they found much gold and many treasures. After this stout action Bodwar received Drifva to wife, as they had long loved each other, and their life was one of the happiest.'

Another passage may be quoted illustrative of the marvels and mysteries with which the ancient scalds embellished the adventures of their warriors, and which tradition has woven inseparably into her gravest recitals.

'It happened once, that as King Rolf and Bodwar were conversing, Rolf asked if Bodwar knew any king who could be compared to him. Bodwar replied that he did not, but that one thing was wanting to King Rolf's glory, and that was that he should obtain the inheritance which King Adil unjustly retained. . . . King Rolf then prepared himself with his twelve warriors, and a hundred choice men, the best of his court, and set out towards Sweden. One evening they came to a little farm where one peasant lived alone, who came out and courteously invited them to lodge with him. King Rolf answered, that he probably had not room and food enough for them all; but the peasant smiled and answered, that 'he had sometimes seen many more people come to his village, and that they should want for nothing.' The peasant's name was Krane, and he was so wise that he could answer every question they put to him; and, in addition, he gave them better entertainment than they had ever met with before. But in the night they were awoken by such severe cold, that the teeth were chattering in their heads, and King Rolf with his twelve warriors alone could endure it, all the rest went about looking for more clothes with which to cover themselves. In the morning the peasant asked how he had slept, and the king and Bodwar answered, 'Well.' 'I know,' said Krane, 'that your people found it rather cool in my cottage last night; but greater difficulties are awaiting them at King Adil's court, and it would be better that you sent home the half of these weaker people, for there is no chance of your prevailing over King Adil by numbers.' The king approved of the peasant's advice, and sending home the half of his people, continued his journey. When they had ridden the whole day, they came in the evening again to the same farm as it seemed, and the same peasant received them, in the same style as before. They certainly thought that this looked strange, but passed the night with him notwithstanding. This time they were consumed with burning thirst, and with the heat of great wood fires, and so overcome were the

people by it, that the peasant advised King Rolf to send all back, and only take his twelve champions. This advice also he followed, and journeyed on to King Adil's court. There he met with the most treacherous treatment and singular adventures, and was glad to retreat. On the return, 'they came again to the farm of the peasant Krane, who entertained them as well as he had done before, and thought that his prophecy of this journey had been fulfilled, which they were obliged also to confess. Krane produced some costly arms, sword, shield, and coat of mail, which he wished to present to the king, but he would in no wise accept them, thinking it not fit to beg arms from a peasant. At this Krane was greatly angered, saying, 'Thou art not always so wise and prudent as thou thinkest thyself;' and he was so wrath that he would afford them no night's lodgings, but they were obliged to ride on, though night had already closed in. When they had gone to a little distance, Bodwar stopped and said: —'Fools find good counsel too late. Methinks we have unwisely refused that which would have served us for future victory and success, for this peasant must certainly have been the ancient Odin, and was one-eyed as he.' They therefore hastily turned about their horses' heads, but could find neither the peasant nor the farm again, but were obliged to continue their route towards Denmark. Bodwar advised King Rolf henceforth to remain quiet in his kingdom, and avoid war, as it was probable that Odin, being offended, would in future grant him no victory. And the king did so.'

But we must pass over this half fabulous period;—the rough entertainment which the masculine princess Torborg gave to her suitors; over the exploits of the celebrated Rognar Lodbrog, and his sons, in their expeditions to England. How they took Hvitaby (Whitby), and Lugduna (Lincoln), 'by the stratagem of begging from King Ethelred as much land as an ox's hide would cover, which they cut into narrow shreds, and made it enclose a whole district; and all the miracles and saints of the catholic period.

The second volume contains one of the most stirring and eventful narratives in the history of any country in Europe. Christian the Tyrant, Gustavus Wasa, and the gifted but eccentric and unfortunate Erik XIV., fill it with their strange deeds, and singular fortunes. There is no tyrant in the annals of any christian nation, that can boast a bloodier fame than Christian the Second, of Denmark. What is called 'The Blood Bath of Stockholm,' that is, his wholesale butchery of the nobles, senators, and distinguished men, in 1520, is almost unparalleled, and is strikingly described. The monarchs of Denmark, for the three countries of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, were frequently governed by one king, had repeatedly been driven out of Sweden, for their crimes and oppressions, and an administrator appointed in the person of some patriotic noble. This

was the case now. Christian, by force of arms and treachery, had made himself master of Stockholm ; and, amidst the festivities of his coronation, plotted the murder of almost every influential and patriotic Swede. No sooner were those festivities at an end than, his victims having been lured into his toils, the work of butchery began. Senators, prelates, burgomasters, noblemen, priests, and burghers, having been huddled into a tower together, were brought out into the Great Square which was surrounded by Danish troops, and guarded by cannon pointed towards every street, and successively beheaded. Amongst these were Erik Johansson Wasa, the father of Gustavus Wasa, Joachim Brahe, Erik Gyllenstjerna, Erik Lejonhufwud, and sixteen other senators ; thirteen of the town council, and fifteen of the chief citizens. The weather was wet, and the streets actually ran with blood. The next day the work of butchery went on briskly. Men were plucked suddenly from their horses as they came riding by, and were hanged on the spot, or beheaded. The whole city was surrendered to violence and plunder, and the horrible scene was closed by collecting on the third day the dead bodies which had been left on the streets, and burning them in one ghastly holocaust. The bodies of his valiant opponents, particularly the Administrator Lord Sten Sture and his young son, he caused to be torn from their graves, and burnt with the rest. Throughout the country the same horrible massacres were extended, and when, a month afterwards, he departed for Denmark, the wheel, the gallows, and bloody executioner marked his journey. It was on this gory journey that perhaps the most affecting incident in the history of royal murders occurred. In the town of Jonköping, he beheaded Sir Lindorm Ribbing and his servants. Shortly after, seeing by chance Sir Lindorm's two little boys, the one eight and the other six years old, and fearing their revenge in future years, he determined to make away with them both. The oldest boy was led out first, and was beheaded. The younger looked at the streaming blood and the red stains on his brother's clothes, without knowing what it meant ; but when he was led out, he turned with childish innocence to the executioner, and said, ' Dear man, dont stain my shirt like my brother's for then mamma will whip me.' The executioner melted at these words, threw the sword from him, and said—' I would rather blood my own shirt than thine.' But the tiger-hearted Christian who had been an eye-witness of this heart-rending spectacle, was not to be touched by it. In a fury he called for a more savage servant, who struck off the heads of the innocent child and the compassionate executioner.

It was the atrocities of this monster which brought the great

Gustavus Wasa into the field ; and he was already on the way to rouse his abused country to an effectual resistance, when the news of these horrors, and of his father's fate met him. Gustavus Wasa is one of 'the burning and shining lights of history.' He is one of the great of the earth, whose fame cannot be confined to one country, but, like the light of the sun, overspreads the whole world, warming, vivifying, and giving fresh inspiration to patriot hearts, and teaching them in the very darkest times to bid defiance to despotism and despair. It is not necessary for us to trace his career and his glorious deeds ; they are familiar to the young and the generous in all languages. We need only say that they are here described in glowing and impressive words ; and exhibit a great lesson, one of the greatest that man can teach to his fellows,—to stand fast by the right and the noble, and trusting to God's help to hope on in the divine work of beneficence in the face of mountains of discouragement. A more arduous task no one ever set himself than the young Gustavus Wasa ; more daunting discouragement never met any one in the execution of it. His country lay prostrate at the feet of the Danish tyrant, Christian. He himself, with other nobles, had been kidnapped in his youth, and carried off to captivity in Denmark. When he resolved to fly, and had effected his escape to attempt the rescue of his country, it was some time before he dared to venture into his native land, and he sought refuge at Lübeck in Germany, where the tyrant sent to demand him. When he did reach Sweden it was to find only two fortified towns in the whole country in the hands of his own countrymen, and those were defended by two of those high-hearted and heroic women of whom Sweden has been so prolific—Christiana Gyllenstjerna and Anna Bjelke. These received him with joy, but everywhere he appealed to the people in vain. 'Neither salt nor herring fail us,' said they, 'so long as we obey the king.' Such was the debasement of the public mind, and the fear of the despot, that his life was even threatened, and he was obliged to seek safety in the closest disguise. When he reached the solitary manor-house of Tärnö, in Södermanland, where his sister Margaret and her husband Sir Joachim Brahe, resided, their terror was beyond words when he revealed his project, and his sister on her knees besought him with tears and prayers not to involve his whole family in ruin. His brother-in-law, Joachim, hastened to Stockholm to attend the tyrant's coronation, advising Gustavus to make the best of the times, and do the same ; but Gustavus stood firm, and Joachim Brahe, as we have seen, was one of the first to lose his own head on the great day of butchery. This fearful news was brought to Gustavus by Brahe's old and faithful steward, who

had been witness of the awful scene, and he immediately fled to the mountainous district of Dalarna, where the stout and patriotic Stures had ever found a faithful race, ready to come to the rescue of their country. On his journey his faithless servant attempted to rob him; he narrowly escaped drowning by the breaking of the ice as he was crossing a frozen lake by night, and arriving in the country where he hoped to find zeal and faith, he found only shyness or treachery. His adventures in this wild region of mountains and forests, exceed those of any romance. Wandering in disguise from place to place; pursued by spies and bloody enemies, working in barns, hiding for days in mines, wintry woods, and under hedges; everywhere distrusted and rejected. Yet, in spite of all these difficulties, enough to sink the heart of all but such heroes as are prepared to maintain the cause of humanity, or die for it, within one year he became administrator of his nation, and within three, his country was delivered by him, it was free, and he was its crowned king. He had the honour and the blessing of introducing the reformation into it, of giving it new institutions, of establishing its prosperity, and of showing himself one of the greatest and wisest monarchs that Europe has produced.

But his throne was not destitute of inquiet. He had the freedom of his country, not only to achieve but to maintain. His Danish enemies, the partizans and priests of the old papal religion, were ever at work amid the people and nobles to expel him and the new order of things. The great Stures, who had been before the patriot champions of the country, felt themselves overshadowed, and stirred up the mountain tribes of Dalarna against him, and Russia brought down upon him her barbarous forces. The greater part of his reign was a period of anxiety and arduous strife; but he triumphed over all these trials by his wisdom and firmness. Greater trials and greater need of fortitude, however, awaited him from his own children, in whom he was far from happy. He was no exception to the almost universal and singular truth, that no man of first-rate genius or eminence in any department, transmits his genius and his fortune to his son. No mighty poet or mighty conqueror, no genius, hero, or statesman of the first magnitude, produces in his son his equal, far less his superior. Alexander of Macedon, Cæsar of Rome, or Napoleon of France, gave not birth to a second Alexander, a second Cæsar, or a second Napoleon. There has been no second Columbus, Nelson, or Blake; no second Marlborough or Wellington; Washington, Franklin, Cromwell, Hampden, or Pym, left no sons that could outshine them in deeds or counsels of liberty. In the realms of poetry where was the offspring and heir of Homer, of Virgil, of Horace;

where those of Chaucer, or Milton? Where was the son of Francis Bacon that could write a new *Novum Organum*? of Newton, that could draw from the secret depths of nature hidden laws so mighty as he did? Who succeeded to the honours of Locke, of Descartes, of Leibnitz, of Laplace? Who shall succeed to those of Cuvier, of Humboldt, or of Bentham? Where is the new Goethe or Schiller of Germany? Why did Shakspeare leave us no second dramatist to ascend still another step in the scale of transcendent genius, and make even himself a lesser wonder?

It is because the great Source and Giver of intellectual powers has seen fit otherwise to ordain. There may be physical and other causes which operate to produce this striking phenomenon; or, arguing from the doctrines of phrenology and physiology, we should have said that as the races of inferior animals are physically moulded and wonderfully improved by attention to the laws of improvement, so grand developments of head and frame in the human being should produce their like; and by culture and the light and guidance of their superior knowledge and wisdom in the training of youth, their superiors: and that by this means the progeny of heroes, whether mighty in arms, arts, or creative intellect, would go on advancing into higher forms of human greatness. But so far from this, where the highest pitch of mental vigour or wisdom, according to the old measurement of experience, is once attained, there is no maintainance of it even in the second generation; but more commonly a rapid retrogression. It would seem as if the transcendant energies that mark the individual, glorious as they may be, drawing upon him the wonder of the world, and fixing his fame as an eternal star in the heaven of history, are but just what are requisite for his appointed work—are all expended upon it, and leave no portion to be transferred to his posterity. Such men can transfer their power to their work, but not to their children. It is clearly a divine afflatus, and not transmittable and heritable property. Clever people can and do, by mere organization and idiosyncrasy, propagate cleverness in their families for generations. We see many instances of it in society; but the great burning and shining lights burn out. Clever people often produce geniuses, but geniuses rarely ever clever people. Clever and wise mothers are generally the mothers and educators of the first-rate instances of genius. It was the case with Washington, with Napoleon, with Scott; and numerous are the proofs that may be cited: but on the other hand, how few are the cases where a great man is succeeded by an equally great son? Perhaps those of David and Solomon, and Lord Chatham and his second son, William Pitt, are the most like exceptions to this

mysterious rule, which seems thus luminously established that we may perceive beyond all question that genius and intellectual power are the peculiar gifts of God, and that he reserves jealously to himself their disposal and distribution for the needs and guidance of the world.

Gustavus Wasa and his son Erik XIV. are amongst the most striking examples of this law. Gustavus was a pre-eminently handsome man, and as kind and wise, and pious in his family, as brilliantly successful in his political fortunes; yet a more eccentric or unhappy monarch than his son never reigned. He is that Erik of Sweden who sought the hand of our Queen Elizabeth so zealously, and who possesses, therefore, a particular interest for English readers; but, besides this, his fate is singularly attractive from its melancholy romance. Like his father, he was of a noble exterior, and was endowed with many good qualities. He gave the best promise while he was growing up. 'He had from nature,' says Fryxell, 'a handsome and manly appearance, a supple and strong body, developed by a hardy education. When a youth, he excelled almost all his companions in racing, swimming, dancing, in the tennis court, in the lists, and in all feats of agility. It was a pleasure, but a fearful one, to see him careering on horseback. He was likewise richly gifted with mental endowments, and was a remarkably learned man in his day. He wrote an easy and elegant Latin; but he was particularly skilled in astronomy and mathematics. Like his father, he was a lover of music, and composed himself. His poetry was also the best of his day in Swedish.' But, with these advantages, he possessed also violent passions. With the person of Absalom, he had also his ambition and popular arts, and excited fear and jealousies in his father's heart. He had bad counsellors, especially in Dionysius Beurreus, a Frenchman, who darkened his mind with the superstitions of astrology, and Göran Persson, who put him upon dangerous and impolitic acts of government. His magnificent embassies to Queen Elizabeth, and when disappointed there, out of pique, to the queen of Scots, and finally to the princess Renata of Lotringen, heiress of the Danish throne, involved him in much debt, besides filling him with the chagrin of failure. His government gradually grew into one of sternness and blood. He imprisoned one brother, the Duke John, and drove another to madness by prevailing on him to sign his consent to John's death. He imprisoned the heads of the great Swedish family of the Stures, and only when driven to distraction by his violent remorse, liberated his brother John, to be by him captured and committed to perpetual incarceration. His madness was, in fact, become apparent to all, and may tend to excuse many of his crimes, but only aggravate that

of his cruel treatment in his prison by his brother. To this day King Erik is the great hero of the people. His naturally kind heart, his fine person and bravery, his melancholy insanity and more melancholy fate, make his memory universally popular amongst them. Even their greatest poets and romancers have made him their theme. But it contributed not a little to the people's interest in him, that he married one of their own class. After all his royal and state suits, he fell in love with and married Karin Mansdotter, a young girl who originally sate in the market and sold nuts. This poor girl is celebrated alike for her extreme beauty, her good sense, and gentle disposition. It was, perhaps, beyond any earthly power to controul the madness of Erik, but Karin soothed it and often diverted him from desperate deeds. She never meddled with affairs of state, and the only happy hours Erik spent, were those in her society. The love he bore her remained unchangeable. On beautiful summer afternoons, while still reigning, he, with his most intimate associates, would sail on the lake Mälar, when Karin was always of the party, and the object of his constant devotion and tenderness. The evenings were passed in the open air in singing, dancing, and rural sports. As they rowed home at night, Erik sate by her side contemplating the sun-set lingering on the northern horizon through the long summer night, or the stars as they came forth in beauty in the heavens above, and the depths below, listening the while to the songs which echoed from the shores, or from distant boats. They were executed by his orders; he was himself often the author of both the words and music. One of these, in which he extols 'his shepherdess,' promises to love her for ever, and bids her 'thousand good nights,' has descended to us, and is still known and sung by the people.

But still more has the sad music of his captive hours sunk into the heart of the Swedish people. This they still hear in their churches. Besides writing letters to his wife, he employed his prison hours in composing music, and remarks on the books which he read. Sometimes his sorrow found vent in psalmody. Nos. 180 and 373 of the Swedish Psalm-book are composed by him. The latter is one of the most simply touching, and heartfelt confessions of contrition and faith in God ever penned. It tells forcibly the whole history of the royal prisoner's altered heart and fortunes. It speaks from the heart to the heart, and has been appointed in Sweden, one of the Penitentiary psalms sung at the execution of criminals. The music also, by the unfortunate Erik, is worthy of the words; and both make us forget his many crimes in the bitterness of his punishment, and the humility of his repentance.

Here close these two very interesting volumes. We cordially wish both the author and the translator well through the remainder, which will have to deal with no ordinary matter,—Gustavus Adolphus, ‘the Lion of the North,’ the pious and devoted champion of protestantism, Charles XII.; the singular Queen Christina, who again renounced this religion of her greatest ancestors, and sought comfort in abdication and Rome, with the expulsion of the last of the Wasa’s, Gustavus IV., and the enthronement of the Frenchman, Bernadotte, these are characters and changes that present at once to the writer an arduous and a splendid task.

A careful comparison of this translation with the original, has given us the highest respect for the ability of the translator, and her familiarity with the language, as well as for the care with which Mrs. Howitt has carried the work through the press for her absent friend. The translator, whom we should judge from her name, Anne von Schultz, to be an English lady married into a Swedish family, appears to have taken but one slight liberty with her original, that of omitting occasionally a rhythmical stanza; probably doubting its fitness for grave history. We regard these, however, as quite characteristic of a northern history, and counsel her to give us everything of the kind in the future. Her preface, descriptive of Swedish scenery and life, brief as it is, is one of the most graphic and charming compositions of the kind that we have chanced to meet with.

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- Art. V.—1. *Pastoral Letter of William Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.* London, 1845.
2. *Correspondence between Henry Lord Bishop of Exeter, his Clergy, and others.* 1845.
3. *Considerations on the exercise of Private Judgment by Ministers of the United Church of England and Ireland in matters connected with the Doctrine and Discipline of that Church.* By James Parker Deane, D.C.L., Advocate in Doctor’s Commons. London: Parker. 1845.
4. *The Helstone Case; or, Twelve Letters on the Rubric and Ritual Innovations* Reprinted from the ‘Standard,’ by a Provincial: with an engraving taken from Bishop Patrick’s ‘Devotions,’ 1672, showing a Minister officiating in his gown at Church. London: Hatchard; Exeter: Hanneford. 1845.
5. *Prayers on behalf of the Church of England and her Children in their present time of Trouble.* By Francis E. Paget, M.A., Rector of Elford. London: Burns. 1845.

At the commencement of the Long Parliament, little more than

two hundred years ago, Ruyard, one of the most eloquent of its members, rose up and expressed himself to the following effect:—‘It is well known,’ he observed, ‘that disturbance has been brought into our country and the established church through vain and petty trifles. The whole realm is distracted about where to place a metaphor or how to fix an altar. We have seen ministers worried to death, against law, against conscience, against compassion. Episcopal inventions have become sieves to winnow the best men—an occupation most suitable to Satan. They have a mind to oppress preaching, for I have never heard of any but diligent preachers that were vexed with these and the like devices. They would fain evaporate and dispirit the power and vigour of true religion by drawing it out into solemn and specious formalities—*into obsolete and antiquated ceremonies*. Let them not say that these are the perverse or malicious interpretations of some factious spirits amongst us: while a Romanist has boasted in print that the face of our church begins to alter, the language of our religion to change; and that if a synod were held, and puritans excluded, our articles and theirs might be soon made to agree. They have so brought it to pass, that under the names of puritans (and he might have added, ultra-protestants), our whole religion is branded; and under cover of a few hard words against catholics, all popery is countenanced. Whoever would be governed by common usage is a puritan, according to them; their great work being to exhibit all persons not of their way of thinking, as people to be suspected! The effect of these ill-judged procedures is weakness and division on every hand!’ Never surely was an historical coincidence of times and circumstances more palpably striking. We owe an apology to our readers for not having before called their attention, in these pages, to the superb drama of confusion now agitating the establishment, which describes itself in every Bidding Prayer as ‘that pure, apostolic, and reformed branch of Christ’s holy catholic church maintained in these kingdoms!’ There are two bishops, more particularly notorious, who have been politely compared by the ‘leading journal of Europe’ to ‘the two tails of smoking fire-brands, Rezin the king of Syria, and Pekah the son of Remaliah:’ thousands of clergy and laity having already denounced them as neither more nor less than ecclesiastical incendiaries. The peace of society, throughout extensive districts, has been sacrificed to the freaks of these factious and cowardly prelates. We use the latter epithet with deliberation, although entirely without anger. Like those cunning quadrupeds of the brush, they have effected their mischievous purposes, and then skulked away! Charles James of London, after the vagaries of Ware,

Ilford, Shoreditch, and Tottenham, has laid down his ears, and withdrawn his regulations for the term of twelve months ! What a caricature of papal usurpation and pusillanimity. Henry of Exeter, all but falling into hysterical convulsions, because some poor curate, on a Sunday during the bitter cold weather of December last, was said to have preached in a great coat, which proved not to have been a correct report, has now withdrawn his surplices from the pulpit altogether. The white and the black officials are henceforward to do duty as they have hitherto done for several generations. But who shall heal the breaches and heart-burnings which these attempts at paltry innovation have made ? Who are contending for these bagatelles, but those who have shown themselves the bitterest enemies of vital godliness ! We are reminded of a worthy clergyman who once offended Archbishop Laud by declaring that 'he opined the evening of the world must certainly be at hand, as the shadows were growing so much longer than the substances which projected them !' Since the Reformation, or at least the Restoration, we doubt whether the Church of England has ever been in a more pitiable condition than it exhibits at the present day.

Indeed her state is such, that compassion should swallow up indignation in the bosom of every right-minded spectator. Were some wandering spirit from another sphere to alight on Shooter's Hill or Dartmoor, his eye could not fail to be caught by the incessant excitement and turmoil amongst all the inhabitants of this island. Our harbours would strike him as crowded with vessels, our markets as overflowing with prosperity, our soil as teeming with fertility, our civilization as ripening into the most marvellous refinement. The cancer of pauperism might possibly be just at first concealed ; but the hubbub of public meetings scarcely so. ' Yet, what is it all about,' would be his inquiry as a stranger, or at least some such internal query would flash through his mind. His surprise must surpass description, to be told that the subject matter was, in a certain sense, rather less than the mote in a sunbeam ! When further informed, moreover, that the entire *fons malorum*, out of which, one single drop had scalded and exasperated millions of sensible people, was an institution professedly maintained for the purposes of promoting national edification, would he not answer, ' Why, then, is not the whole affair altered ; why not dry up altogether a fountain of such bitter waters ; why not let the River of Life wend its own way through this otherwise happy land : I cannot understand it ?' Nor does the problem admit of a very easy or superficial explanation. It is an anomaly all over ; one vast, endless, labyrinth of perplexities ; an enormous fraud upon mankind. That so holy and blessed a system as the

gospel of the Redeemer, originated from the fathomless mercy of Eternal Love, illustrated by the life of its Divine Author, and sealed with his own blood, should ever have fallen into the hands of secular men at all, to be by them corrupted and rendered a bane to that world, over which one day it is to reign in the plenitude of its power, is to ourselves an almost inconceivable mystery. Within these realms, however, this phenomenon is still to be witnessed. We possess an hierarchy seated on about fifty episcopal thrones, throughout England, Ireland, and their colonies. Immense revenues are showered into its lap, extensive powers are wielded by its hands, about twenty thousand ordained clergy, bound by oaths and subscriptions, wait upon its will, or rather upon the will of its secular superior. Now, strange to say, amidst infinite pomp and grandeur, it has neither head, heart, nor hand of its own. The premier nods, and this proud prelacy must obey! Either he, or his predecessors, placed every mitre upon the brow that wears it. In these islands, to adopt a favorite figure, the church is married to the state; and an iniquitous husband the latter makes her. Richard Hooker, and his followers, consider the limits of the one as also the limits of the other. Those who deny such doctrines are without the pale; and what is to become of them hereafter, let no man say. But just at present, our attention is imperatively called to the sublunary circumstances of this said church of England: we shall glance for a few moments at the parties within the establishment, then at its internal and external position, and lastly at its future prospects.

None will deny that the members of the church of England constitute an exceedingly numerous, and important portion of our body politic. What their precise numbers may be, it is perhaps difficult to determine; but probably she baptizes into her communion a large third of our European fellow subjects. Of these, there is an immense mass whom, for the sake of convenience, we shall call the conservatives. They are mostly men, women, and children, who may just be estimated as so much flesh, bone, and sinew. To the vital realities of religion they are utter strangers. Their affections, except so far as mere associations arising out of education and habit may go, are all sent another way. Less than a century since, the church of England consisted of little else than such materials. Let the admirable Samuel Walker, of Truro, be referred to as a witness, himself so attached to his ecclesiastical mother, that neither fire nor sword could separate him. He thus solemnly records the results of a widely extended investigation:—‘What I see has given me much concern. I see the number of real christians small. I see that the form of godliness has been thrusting out

the power of it, till that itself is well nigh lost in licentiousness. I see the generality dead in sin, and securely sleeping in a profound ignorance of the truth of the gospel. I see our ministry in general, long ago fallen into a dry moral way of preaching, that can neither reach the disease of the hearers, nor has the promise of the Spirit to accompany it. And I earnestly wish I saw none of those, who have undertaken that sacred office, so engaged in ambitious and self-interested pursuits, that they have neither leisure, nor inclination, nor ability to go through their ministerial duties. *In general, I see God forgotten, Christ neglected or despised, and the kingdom of darkness extensively established.* We have copied the words of one of his most serious documents, which, from time to time, he accustomed himself to draw up with all the carefulness of a philosopher, and the piety of a thoroughly upright and conscientious mind. Let Messrs. Venn, Grimshawe, Berridge, Scott, Romaine, Adams of Winttringham, be appealed to for similar testimony. When we add to these the celebrated Hervey of Weston Favel, we have gone far towards enumerating nearly every name at all prominent during those times, for genuine godliness in the establishment. The nation might have become perfectly heathenized, had it not been for these worthies, acting as they did in conjunction with, or strengthened by, the methodists and nonconformists. Matters are somewhat altered now; and yet it must be admitted, that conservatism still constitutes the basis and bulk of the building. It is, after all, a cold though a somewhat colossal affair. The metropolitan cathedral is the very type of it; with its Grecian and graceful porticoes, its ample nave and aisles, its aspiring dome, the insignia of the state all over it, its marble monuments, and its paucity of genuine worshippers! The revenues of its reverend chapter are perhaps equivalent to the privy purse of the pope of Rome; whilst, as to fervour of devotion, it is just out of the question; one would as soon look for tropical productions in the polar regions. Taking the number of regularly ordained clergy at from sixteen to twenty thousand; and calculating from the subscribers to the Church Missionary Society, as well as kindred institutions, that six thousand may be considered evangelical in their sentiments; then allowing from fifteen hundred to two thousand more for the followers, or at least favourers of Pusey and Newman; there will be found left about a myriad of priests and deacons, out of whose ranks we grant that the foxhunters and turfmen are gradually dying off, but whose mighty mass still remains; *mole suâ immobiliter stat!* It forms a mountain platform of pharisaical formalism. It supports an ecclesiastical fabric, to which ignorance, and fashion, and bigotry resort upon the Sunday; where decency ministers

at a fireless altar, and a political creed wears the garb of external religion during the hours of stated service. But godliness always catches cold by going there. It is a temple of mammon to all intents and purposes. It evangelizes no souls. It glories in no cross. It wears and wields a sword,—but not that of the Spirit. It assorts well with the pageantry of scarlet gowns, beadles, maces, wigs, powdered menials, and the other gaudy gewgaws of a lord mayor's day. But it is a synagogue of Satan, in which he obscures the realities of another world, by mingling them with the phantasmagoria of this. It is a wonderful part of his grand vanity fair, to which all ages and both sexes are invited and allured when the theatres are closed, when balls and routs are suspended, when pleasure itself wants a change, and the best opera dancers are out of town!

Next to the conservatives, in the church of England, we must take the evangelicals; a class once promising to become an army of confessors,—a host of the 'precious sons of Zion.' But how is the gold become dim, and the fine gold changed! Would not their very progenitors be ashamed of them; those who refused large preferments, that they might fight unencumbered against still larger abuses; those who co-operated with nonconformists, that they might arouse their own brethren; those that could, in an apostolic sense, become all things to all men, that by all means they might save some? Alas! where is the liberality, which once brought the great episcopal commentator to Bristol, on a visit to the respected Principal of a Baptist Academy?—which united John Owen to the Hughes, and Hardcastle, and Clayton, of his day; or at an earlier period consecrated the friendship of the good curate of Truro, with Risdon Darracott, of Wellington? Have not the present evangelical clergy grown conformed to the present world, instead of becoming transformed in the renewal of their minds? We do not, of course, mean to say, that they frequent Drury Lane or Covent Garden, or that they dance the Polka, and play at cards. But what we intend to affirm is this,—that their entire spirit is opposed, not so much to the professions, as to the practices and conduct of their illustrious predecessors. Their general bearing has degenerated into the assumption of sacerdotal usurpation. They have ceased to be men of self-denial and unimpeachable disinterestedness. What the Edinburgh Review has propounded respecting them is too true,—that they obtain the best preferments, wed the prettiest wives, marry the richest fortunes, exhibit the handsomest equipages, and give themselves the greatest airs, of any class of gentry in the country. Their pretensions to more scriptural doctrine, and greater external holiness of life, than their tractarian and

conservative colleagues, are held *in commendam* with a dispensation for all sorts of bad tempers towards those who differ from them. They rally, like janizzaries, round the alliance between church and state. Their company is encountered in clusters, at the palaces of the few prelates upon whom they can reckon as patrons; or at the tables of the great and noble, who now happily coincide with sentiments no longer despised or persecuted. We say it deliberately, and with the means in our hands of proving what we say,—that, with many splendid individual exceptions, not at all affecting the force of our general assertion, they have ceased for some years to be the exclusively-working clergy, which they once were. In the mere matter of ministerial labour, they are surpassed by many parochial pastors of a new, and worse school, whose spiritual knowledge is not to be compared with theirs. But they have lost their first love. Their parishes see less of them, and their bishops more. Our experience in these respects we may venture to describe as strictly personal. They stand aloof from the pious laity; jealous of the slightest conceivable approach to any interference in duties supposed to be exclusively connected with the gown and surplice. Even lay visitation has a green eye cast upon it. The Sunday Schools in our remotest villages will bear no committees; or at least, the vicar and his curate are resolved they shall not. 'We are the people, and wisdom will die with us,' forms their practical motto. Hence they have become cool about the British and Foreign Bible Society; they have withdrawn from the London Missions; they can even manifest a little coquetry with the Puseyism of their rural deanery; they avoid all possible contamination with nonconformity; they have spread over the surface of the kingdom in shallows, rather than deep waters. Whenever asked, as was the case the other day, 'Whether laymen may not consider themselves entitled to touch the ark of the Lord?' the cautious answer was, 'They are permitted *to carry it!*' As a clerical body, they have reposed their head on the knees of a secular Dalilah, wilfully seeking slumber on that pillow of slothfulness and sin; the witch of this world has sold the lock of the Nazarite; and her cry in the moment of danger will be, 'The Philistines be upon thee, Samson!' Let the 'Record' contradict us if it can!

Next in order stands the Oxford party, made up of many shades and colours. Some of these have not as yet disentangled themselves from the sections already reviewed. Conservatism rather likes their brilliant scouring of the outside of the cup and platter. Secularised evangelism mightily approves their potent denunciations of nonconformity. They, on the other

hand, kiss hands in return at the hatred of the first against the puritanism of the second. In fact, one of the characteristic marks of tractarianism and its adherents, is, that upon principle, they have no warfare with the present evil world. They profess themselves perfectly ready at any and every moment to battle against Satan and the flesh: but with the third person leagued in the triumvirate against the soul of man, they can remain at peace, if parties will only be quiet! We know a most respectable and accomplished rector, in one of the eastern counties, who never fails in performing daily service in his own church; often throwing on his surplice over his sporting costume, after the first of September! Puseyism, again, rather affects the seriousness of the evangelicals, and wishes to supplant their tracts, their habits, their once frequent and effective visitation amongst the cottages of the poor, by corresponding publications and customs of its own. Where it most terribly tells, against the latter class of its antagonists, is by calling public attention to their anti-liturgical inconsistencies, and their anti-rubrical transgressions. Upon these, and similar subjects, the 'British Critic' assailed them with 'sharp sleet of arrowy showers,' which has bruised the poor 'Christian Observer' all over, and demolished lesser combatants. The letter of all the canons, many of the homilies, parts of the catechism, and detached portions of the prayer book, have ruthlessly been claimed by the New-maniacs, and played off in battery upon their opponents. We may judge by the test of temper, if there had been nothing else, where the victory has been gained, about the anise and cummin, the copes, albs, tunicles, bowings towards the altar, faldstools, credences, and the like. Dissenters, it must be remembered, may aver that these things are mere trifles: but clergymen, supposed to be exemplars of piety, who have given an *ex animo* assent and consent to every one of them, are not in circumstances to do so. Here lies the real power of Puseyism, as an accuser against its brethren; if, indeed, persons may claim that term of endearment, who would embrace each other, about as soon as death and the grave! Meanwhile, Oxford grows rapidly into the Salamanca of England. Her former profligacy in morals has assumed the cowl and cord of monkish austerity; like Mephistophiles, when he had taken a fancy to sackcloth and ashes. It is wonderful to see the number of young men, who have caught the contagion. It is nothing to the purpose, that the present Vice-chancellor carried his election by an overwhelming majority, or that a grace has, or rather was to have passed convocation for testing the sense in which the articles are subscribed. The astounding facts are that such an office, coming in rotation, should have been op-

posed at all ; or that the tract Ninety should render an explanatory test necessary. Their treatment of Messrs. Ward and Pusey has undoubtedly been forced upon the authorities in the university, by circumstances ; and it would appear, that there is a section, disposed upon certain conditions, to look towards Rome itself as their ultimate resting place. We have never denied this : but, on the other hand, are fully aware that all along a small body of individuals secretly avowed these tendencies. Yet the utmost extent of their number at present may be stated as under two hundred, and probably not more than one hundred and fifty. What we *have* ventured to assert rather strenuously is, that the mass of tractarians generally entertain no such views or ideas. Their object is altogether of another kind ; and they know that the real Romanizers, within their own limits, are not above one in ten. They aim at something much nearer home—at a petted popery of their own—at a sort of British patriarchate—at a Vatican on the banks of the Thames—at an ecclesiastical domination, which they may work with their own hands, and for their own purposes—at an empire over the conscience of this country, that no one else shall interfere with—at the discouragement of all dissent from their own skeleton of Pharisaism—at the suppression of civil liberty, under their own feet—at the canonization of such men as the ‘Royal Martyr,’ Archbishop Laud, Bishop Ken, or Wilson of Sodor and Man—and finally, at the realization of their most decidedly anti-protestant system ! It by no means follows, however, that because it is thus anti-protestant, it must for that reason be Roman. The persecutor of Dr. Leighton refused the red hat of a cardinal. Puseyism we may depend upon it, is a *tertium quid*, as the logicians say, and smile with contempt, when they say it. It is a *via media*, according to those who have thrown it up, and who mean to spend their lives in walking upon it. It is anglican catholicism, to adopt the favourite expression at Oxford—the high-bred monster of modern ecclesiastical history—a golden calf in Christendom, around which its deluded worshippers dance strange antics, to the cry of ‘These be thy Gods, oh Israel !’

The last party we shall look at, in the establishment, is that of the prelates ; for it is a very singular, yet certain fact, that their lordships, on many occasions, condescend to play a game very snugly by and for themselves. Nay,—amidst the recent disturbances, they have even broken up into little subdivisions. The entire Anglican Episcopate has, we repeat it, split into fragments. The bishops of Worcester and Chester are as different from those of London and Exeter, as though they were not of the same genus. What becomes, we would venture to inquire, of the boasted unity of the establishment ? But let

that pass. The fond conceit, with which the tractarians have tickled those ears that happen to lie hidden under mitres, is, *Episcopus in episcopatu suo solus est, integer atque rotundus*: the object of which patristic gloss is to enable them to escape from the grasp of the Romanist, when he employs their episcopalian line of argumentation to defend the primacy of St. Peter and his successors. The remark, in modern times, we believe was first made by the late Dr. Claudius Buchanan, an eminent missionary and East-India chaplain, that the twenty-four or six British bishops resided, like so many spiritual barons, in their castles, governing their respective territories, but rarely acting together, except for defensive purposes. We quote from memory; while such, we are certain, is the substance of what he said. Of late years, these opulent and powerful ecclesiastical peers have been more harassed than before. Their lordships have become, therefore, at once selfish, and professedly disinterested;—secluded by position and rank from their own clergy, and yet beckoning them to their dinner-tables, when anything is to be done against the dissenters;—ruling poor curates with a rod of iron, puzzling them with new readings of the rubrics and canons, discouraging the most active preachers, and promoting only those divines, whose advancement will aggrandize their own family, or gratify the prime minister. How just and unanswerable are the following observations, made by one of the most clever of our conservative contemporaries:—‘A bishop should be to his diocese what a clergyman is expected to be to his flock,—the object of reference in all delicate and intricate matters, the comforter in trouble or difficulties, the anxious rewarder of the laborious, the vigilant censor of the indolent or vicious; his existence should be felt in every parish, and every one of his subordinates (upon the true episcopal theory) should be made aware, that his conduct is well known and justly estimated. This is surely not setting up a very high standard for episcopal excellence; yet who can say that even this is fulfilled in any adequate degree, or in the least of its requisitions? Even in the removal of notorious scandal, what tardiness and inefficiency are exhibited! If it be possible to admit a plea that shall stand between the offender, and his merited sentence of deprivation or suspension, how carefully and tenderly is the dilemma handled! Every one must remember a recent instance, in which the grossest profligacy was sheltered, and the cry of an indignant people for summary justice evaded. But no record of guilt was made,—not even a reprimand, that we ever heard of, was addressed to the reverend and unabashed voluptuary. This was an instance publicly known and commented upon. Are there no private cases of misconduct, foul and abo-

minable, of which none but bishops seem ignorant, and yet which flourish almost at their own doors? To what purpose all this strife about offertories and observances, when so many deeper sources of evil remain to be extirpated, before the church can assume a right position, and fitly discharge her vocation? Again, allowing every consideration for delicacy, when a word of reprobation is necessary against a delinquent theologian, whose station, and perhaps nothing else, has made a gentleman of him,—how comes it, that a sentiment of a similar kind does not pervade the conduct of the episcopal bench towards the great body of the clergy? Why is it that the clergy, generally, and except for particular purposes, know so little, and see so little of their bishops? What keeps them from being better acquainted with each other? Curates have no access, it seems, to the palace, unless by special invitation. Their parochial duties keep them at home; and their unwillingness to go where they are dubious of a welcome, consigns them to the solitude of their villages and hamlets, unknown and unsought for. A man, in our Establishment, may be vigilant and active; he may rejoice in the fruits of his own labours; but he must not, and he does not expect to see them noticed by his own diocesan.

It has always been a common saying with our clergy, that a pastor may do his duty or let it alone! He is neither better nor worse regarded at the palace. His lordship, with a stretch of liberality that does his penetration infinite credit, and saves him a world of trouble, takes it for granted that every one performs his duty: of course they do, and he is perfectly satisfied; as why should he not? And really, when an opportunity of promotion comes in his way, he is perplexed to death with the variety of claimants. There is the nephew of his patron, and the brother-in-law of his dean, and others with great connexions or long purses to recommend them, and no room is left for any besides; and thus many most worthy men and laborious ministers are never thought of for one moment, and live and die in poverty and neglect. We should be glad to know how many poor, unconnected, deserving clergymen the bishops have provided for, *on account of their merits*, during the last twenty years! Such are the illustrations given and the pictures drawn by episcopalians themselves, as to their own spiritual leaders. There is not a thinker, or reader, or observer in the three kingdoms who can disprove the general representation. The bishops, then, constitute a body acting apart from their own people,—an essentially selfish hierarchy. Their movements only coincide, when the standard of temporal alarm is hoisted upon their respective towers. At all other times they all live as they list. Some patronise high notions, some low ones;

more are for peace, on the ground of preserving matters as they are ; others are for open war. The Metropolitan has issued his bull, indeed, to silence all refractory and belligerent suffragans ; yet really, its roar is so very like that of a sucking dove, that even the children are not frightened : its voice, moreover, requires an interpreter, since both evangelicals and tractarians persist in claiming His Grace as on their own side.

These, then, are the parties in the Church of England ; and now let us glance at its internal and external position, in the midst of the most powerful nation of Europe. And nearly the first thing which strikes one is its palpable, glaring, inconsistency. Here we have an institution claiming the most sacred character before men, and yet openly setting at defiance the commands of God ! On the one hand, it asserts an apostolic descent, a divine origin, rights derived from scripture to the spiritual allegiance of these realms, doctrines that cannot be gainsaid, primitive discipline, and an inherent immortality of existence ; on the other, it demands and maintains an alliance with the state, in the teeth of what Christ has declared about his kingdom not being of this world ; it rests its external and visible foundations upon acts of parliament ; it appropriates five millions of revenue to its own purposes, for which it has bartered away every shadow of internal discipline ; and it denounces all attempts made to separate those which the bible says never ought to have been joined together, as so many efforts aimed at the overthrow and destruction of christianity ! Either the church of England can subsist without the compulsory principle, or it cannot. If the former, where is the ground for her trepidation and alarm—her anathemas and horrible insinuations against the dissenters ? If the latter, what becomes of her essential immortality ? Or is it really true that the state alone summoned her into existence, and could to-morrow sentence her to annihilation ? Do tithes, and glebes, and endowments, and secular wealth, constitute her very being ? Upon her own showing, therefore, does she not blow hot and cold with the same breath ? So, again, with regard to her situation between catholicism and nonconformity, her aspect is unquestionably that of Janus—an image with two faces. She frowns, indeed, fiercely upon both ; but let her be asked, with all coolness and kindness, how she came to forsake the quarry out of which she was hewn ? Her answer must sooner or later be melted down to this,—namely, that she exercised the privilege of private judgment. ‘ Very well,’ reply the Wesleyans—with all the representatives of ancient puritans—‘ and it was in the exercise of a similar privilege that we separated from you !’ But then we hear of her apostolical succession, of the validity of her

ordinations and sacraments, of the four-first-council character of her discipline and doctrines, of her exclusive authority touching the new covenant, and of her being, like the king's daughter, — 'all glorious within,' a meet spouse for the Redeemer, possessed of both visibility and uniformity. Whence came all these, estimating them at her own value, for the sake of argument, and expounding them upon her own principles? If we attempt tracing them up to some British church founded in the first or second centuries, the higher links, as is well known, vanish in a cloud of legend and traditionary fable. From Rome, alone, can they have been derived, if link is to be added on to link in the ecclesiastical chain: and then, how came the Church of England into circumstances of dissent and schism? There appears to us no conceivable escape from the dilemma. If she conscientiously differed from the Vatican, how can she complain of a conscientious exception to Lambeth? If her Roman mother were not so corrupt as to invalidate the sacraments, how could the daughter, upon her own statements, separate without sin? If the parent had thus degenerated, what then becomes of that which is derived from her? The clean thing can by no just process of induction be brought out of an unclean. Her antagonists above, and her rivals below her, both convict her in the same moment of the same culpability as soon as she dares to open her mouth: *ex ore tuo te instanter condemnavimus!*

Then again, in looking at our ecclesiastical establishment *ab intra*, we cannot fail to be most forcibly impressed with its servility to its secular master. There have been known cases of painful bondage, where there has been no slavish mind. Yet here it is not so. If the resistance of the seven bishops to James the Second be adduced, our immediate answer is, that the foolish monarch had touched the apple of their eye. Had he let the property of the church of England alone, she would have stood by him as she had done by his father; and as too many of her children would afterwards have done by the Pretender, upon the same good understanding, that her pelf and power were to be left untouched. In all that relates to civil and religious liberty, into which scale have our hierarchy and clergy thrown themselves? As directors of the royal, aristocratic, parliamentary, and national conscience, were there ever any audible whispers against smuggling, bribery, simony, the desecration of the holy communion as a test for taking office, or against gambling as permitted in the palaces or mansions of the great? When George the Second avowedly sold place and preferment on behalf of his German mistresses, where were the archbishops and bishops, or the very reverend the chaplains and clerks of the closet? In our own days, how fared the British Sardanapalus,

who had divorced his consort—who turned day into night through his indescribable debaucheries,—who reigned and revelled in oriental voluptuousness, with a spiritual staff around him, pluming itself on the revival of its piety? Our princes and peerage were as profligate as any ever heard of, although living in the midst of Protestantism, until public opinion, without any thanks whatever to the highly salaried establishment, effected, under the divine blessing, a mighty change. In the glorious conflict for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade, neither the hierarchy or clergy ever peeped or muttered for many years. The brunt of the battle, with some highly honourable individual exceptions, was borne by the despised schismatics, quakers, presbyterians, independents, baptists, *et id genus omne*, as was often contemptuously observed. In the abolition of lotteries, and all other analogous nuisances, the church remained pretty nearly in respectful silence. It seemed rather to stroke, than to rouse the general mind. Its activity was at least of a passive kind, like that of certain antiquated apothecaries, who hung stuffed crocodiles for their signs outside, and dispensed within for a given premium, opiates, narcotics, charms for the ague, and poisons for vermin. Was it ever known that our thirty spiritual peers in the House of Lords had attended at the cabinet of an administration, to extend the limits of popular liberty, to enlarge the suffrage, to support a Reform Bill, to ameliorate our criminal code, to suppress the game laws, to enlarge the narrow prison, or wipe away the tears of the children of poverty and misfortune? We grant, that when success in any of these particulars has been just on the eve of achievement, or that when an obvious point has to be made in favour of their own side, in politics or polemics, there have now and then occurred some rather over-acted endeavours to discountenance socialism, or shut up brothels. Yet what a scene of ecclesiastical depravity was exposed under the last head. It was discovered that the chapter of Westminster derived large rentals from the tabernacles of public prostitution! It was a Clodius indeed, who called attention to the disgraceful fact; but so it is with all our advantages of an establishment, where factious prelates choose to become tribunes clamorous for freedom and virtue:

Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?
Clodius accusat Mæchos, Catalina Cethegum!

The same homage, moreover, which the dignitaries pay to the powers that be, they exact from those beneath them. We remember the bishop of London declaring in parliament that he could obtain at any time, hundreds of petitions of a certain cha-

racter, which he specified, through issuing the requisite printed forms to his archdeacons, and, through them, to his inferior clergy and their churchwardens. Immense indignation was expressed at his lordship's want of tact and delicacy, in thus exposing the nakedness of those with whom he was once upon a par; but the correctness of the statement, as all are aware, it was utterly impossible to deny.

There is also another feature, which meets the notice of every intelligent observer, when he surveys the position of things, within the doors of the church of England. There has come over the spirit of its dreams a most fearful apprehension, that probably a day of reckoning is at hand, when all its wealth will pass away. Hence proceeds that nervous tremulousness which we see now so often displayed. The contest for a church-rate will agitate an entire district. The proposition of Lord Ashley and others, for something like a system of lay-readers, has filled the clergy of nearly all parties with absolute dismay. Their general aspect is that of men feeling as if the ground were about to slide from under them. Hence flows no slight share of the zeal in building new chapels, as if each fresh edifice may act as a buttress of masonry to prevent the landslip. Charges, sermons, addresses on public occasions, are all redolent of alarm. A commutation of tithes has considerably increased their means, so far as mere pecuniary income is concerned; but the sword of Damocles always seems to be suspended over them. The ecclesiastical commissioners are pretending to pare away various abuses, which, in the opinion of the most thoughtful, will rather strengthen their foundations than otherwise: but then follows the distressing imagination, that as the laity have interfered once in this century, and that once rather successfully, they may indulge more fancies, and dare to interfere again. Reform from any quarter, but a clerical one, is the grand bugbear. Meanwhile, genuine spirituality of necessity declines. The wings of the heavenly Paraclete hover not over the house of turmoil and perturbation. Worldliness enters in at the gate in the fulness of a flood-tide. From the ark floating on its waters there issues a raven rather than a dove. Theologians are wrangling from morning to night about topics of small interest to the pious and the peaceful. These hunger and thirst for the hidden manna and the gentle brook of Siloa. Numbers are leaving the establishment in consequence, as many witnesses will testify. Galleries, built recently for accommodating an augmented population, and within the last twelvemonth crowded with attentive hearers, are now deserted. Husks, and shells, and chaff, will never nourish souls for eternity. 'The kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.' We write

it without anger, yet knowing that we speak the plain truth, when we reiterate the assertion, that episcopalian pastors are fast losing their influence over their people. Take the case of Helstone in Cornwall. The parish contains 3,500 inhabitants, with only one church connected with the establishment; of which the fabric was found, in 1837, utterly inadequate for the accommodation required. Several old square pews were in that year removed, and their space occupied by modern seats. A large gallery was also added at the same time. The number of sittings was thus raised from 470 to nearly 1,000, of which 445 were free to all persons. Four hundred and ninety were appropriated at fair rents, which never failed to be full; the attachment of the parishioners to their place of worship being truly cordial. 'All went on well,' says an accurate informant on the spot; 'the church funds were plentiful; the spirit in the town for supporting the church was excellent; and in the ensuing half dozen years, no less than £2,500 was voluntarily contributed and expended in adorning and improving the building. An organist was appointed at a good salary; there was a paid choir, and the entire sanctuary was handsomely lighted up with gas. In addition to the appointed curate, a stipend was afforded to a lecturer, for an additional service, out of the voluntary contributions of the congregation. Things proceeded thus satisfactorily until the beginning of 1842, when a gentleman named Barlow was appointed curate. He commenced by preaching in the surplice, and attempting to introduce all the other obsolete ceremonies, so repugnant to the taste of the people, and which have at length aroused their determined opposition.' The congregation immediately began to fall off, and complaints were made to the bishop against the course pursued by the new preacher. His lordship was so pressed, that in order to quiet applications, he withdrew Mr. Barlow, and substituted Mr. Blunt; a most jesuitical procedure, from first to last; for it was notorious, that Mr. Blunt had emptied a large church at Teignmouth, where the gospel had been faithfully and energetically illustrated by an able and much respected evangelical minister. However, Mr. Blunt came to Helstone, ostensibly to mend matters, in reality to make them worse. What ensued has occupied the public journals for many weeks past? But now let our readers mark the result. 'I attended,' says the same reporter, 'yesterday morning, at the parish church, when, instead of being crowded in every part, as formerly, I found it almost empty. On counting heads there were only sixty-five persons, nearly all women, instead of the customary thousand. The new gallery, recently erected, had its dreary vacancy interrupted by two young men, who alone occupied it. There were not a dozen

poor in the free seats, instead of nearly five hundred. The heads of families drove out to the parishes in their neighbourhood, leaving only some of their ladies, to whom it would be inconvenient to go three or four miles out, and who seemed to form the sole audience. The corporation pew was altogether empty. The great bulk of the middle classes and the poor have left the church *en masse*, and now attend the Wesleyan or Independent chapels. Instead of the church being prosperous, it is now bankrupt.' The lecturer and organist have been dismissed through want of funds; and tallow candles are stuck into the gas-burners! Even these are said to have been paid for out of the offertory money collected at the communion, which has kindled immense indignation. Such are the consequences of introducing cold formalism and mere ceremonial observances into the now notorious diocese of Exeter. Precisely the same sketch might be given from various parts of the kingdom,—as to Hurst, for instance, under the auspices of the Bishop of Oxford; or East Farleigh, in Kent, where the Rev. Henry Wilberforce finds a faithful patron, strange though it may appear to repeat it, in his grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Amidst all this confusion of fear and folly, on the part of their pastors, there are many episcopalian flocks resolved upon adopting measures correspondent with the crisis. The counties of Devon and Cornwall have most especially roused themselves. They look upon their ecclesiastical head, we are told, 'as an extremely acute and sagacious man; but from past experience, they think him insincere, and distrust him. They suspect him of a covert design in introducing these changes, *to increase his own power and influence, and that of his order, over the laity.* They suspect him of seeking to establish absolute priestly rule over the minds of the people, for each prelate in his see, each incumbent in his parish, and each curate at a tea-party! Since the commencement of the controversy, the clergy in various places had ceased to use the black gown, and had adopted the surplice in the pulpit, with a view, as it is believed, concurrently with the operation of the other parts of their system, to obtain an ascendancy over the minds of the people, by means inconsistent with that religion, the essence of which is, the worship of God in spirit and in truth.' Such is avowed to be the deeply-rooted and general sentiment of the laity throughout considerable districts in the West of England, with which we can ourselves claim no slight personal acquaintance. 'We are not at all afraid,' say they, 'of the bishop, and those of his clergy, who carry out his views, adopting the tenets of Rome, or acknowledging papal supremacy. But by whatever name it may be called, what we are afraid of is, *the attempted establishment of*

sacerdotal domination, the aggressive graspings after power and influence by the clergy; and these we are determined we will not submit to. We say to them—Your ceremonies are meant to abuse, and overawe, and allure the laity under your authority; your offertory collections are meant to give you power, by placing in your hands, uncontrolled, the means of carrying out any object you may desire, even in opposition to our feelings. We distrust you—and we have settled it in our hearts, that we will have none of these changes.’ The writer of these statements has conversed with a great number of gentlemen of station and weight, and with men of all parties; and he believes the foregoing to be an accurate synopsis of what is extending eastward and northward. It thus appears, that the church of England is thoroughly divided against itself; that its followers are straying hither and thither abroad, like sheep without a shepherd; that the murmurings of the tempest, not far off, are heard distinctly by thousands, considering themselves as yet within the pale; only, that those, who have hitherto been shorn, are beginning to look up to their shearers, with eyes more full of indignation than that respectful reverence which they were formerly wont to manifest. We have now taken a rapid glance at the situation of matters *ab intra*; and we proceed, as at first proposed, to survey them for a moment *ab extra*.

Religious state-establishments must always wear a kind of garrison air about them—more particularly when their lot is cast, as it were, *in partibus infidelium*, amongst those who dispute their claims and pretensions. This is peculiarly the case in the British islands. Public opinion stands near the throne, like a fourth estate of the realm, with a pair of balances in her hand. Many of the circumstances connected with the church of England have been weighed, and found wanting—even her own members being the judges. Yet on the whole, she at present bears herself proudly enough, with the crown over her head, with battlements of privilege and immunity all around her, an immense array of officials upon her walls, and the sound of a trumpet issuing from them, not of a very silvery sound. How can persons wonder at this aspect proving unattractive? She says theoretically, sometimes practically too—‘I sit as a lady over the nation—as queen over the people: no one has a right to administer religious instruction within these realms, save myself.’ She describes herself as the Anglican Catholic Church; meaning thereby, that she is limited only by the limits of the state, to whom she is both consort and conscience. All others subsist by mere toleration; to which, by the way, she has never granted any but the most reluctant assent, wrung from her through the civil power, and the force of external circum-

stances. Her salaries and revenues, as we have said, amount to £5,000,000 sterling per annum, besides forty or fifty castles and palaces for her prelates, some hundreds of deaneries and prebendal houses for her cathedral dignitaries, and some thousands of rectories, vicarages, and other parsonages, proverbially the snuggest residences in the country, for the comfort of her beneficed clergy. Then she levies £500,000 sterling per annum, under the denomination of rates, for the maintenance of her sacred buildings, the ceremonial of her services, and even in many cases the supply of sacramental bread and wine for the Lord's Supper. Her episcopal and chapter property produce more than another half million per annum: all this vast income, be it remembered, being gathered in without the shadow of delicacy or regard for those who have to render it, and who do not happen to concur with her in doctrine and discipline. Some obstinate John Thorogood may, for all the ecclesiastical authorities care about the matter, lie months in jail, for the non-payment of a few shillings, which he feels he cannot conscientiously give. Nothing, it seems, will induce the establishment to yield on this point, except an annual grant of £250,000 a year from the consolidated fund! Meanwhile, her spiritual courts set snares for tender consciences all over the land. Their chancellors, registrars, and proctors, are found rife and active in every diocese. As to births, marriages, and wills, until of late, her jurisdiction was exclusive; nor will it easily be forgotten, with how bad a grace she conceded an act of Parliament to legalise the nuptials of nonconformists, after their own fashion. Even as it is, her surrogates increase and multiply. The privileges of Doctors' Commons affect the entire national debt, as well as the bulk of real property throughout the empire. One of the mere sinecures of the Arches is worth a clear £5,000 a year; an income nearly equal to that of the president of the United States! Who can marvel, then, that all those who are not of the church of England are against her? She has planted herself in an attitude of decided antagonism to them; so that of course therefore, when she proclaims her love for those without her pale, the latter cannot help reading her declarations backwards. There is no help for it, short of a revolution. Her claims are the only things about her not squeezible. When, for instance, it was demonstrated by algebra and figures, that through turning her leaseholds into freeholds, she might clear enough in extraordinary annual revenue, to form a fair substitute for church-rates, there was a groan from Canterbury to Durham, as if both those cathedrals had been set on fire, with all the other gothic architecture in England, by so many mad incendiaries. So again in the more recent affair of

factory education, her assumption knew no bounds. She would have nothing to say to it, unless she were constituted, to all intents and purposes, sole school-mistress, from Berwick-on-Tweed to the Land's End. The alphabet, horn book, and New Testament, were to acknowledge her absolute sovereignty. In districts where Catholics, Independents, Baptists, and Wesleyans, might be far more numerous than her own members,—still, no matter, her rod must flagellate, govern, and manage all. And this is the establishment which is now convulsing the country.

Her means and modes of controversial warfare are not less peculiar and characteristic. As an institution, she is precluded from affording her opponents any generosity and fairness in discussion, through her liturgies and articles presenting a congeries of inconsistencies. It could hardly indeed have turned out otherwise, from the manner in which they are thrown together. The reformers under Henry the Eighth and Elizabeth, clearly meant to construct what we should now call an omnibus, a convenient vehicle, capacious though clumsy, fashioned to contain as many, and exclude as few persons as possible. Those, intrusted with the reins, experienced no particular trouble, so long as the large party inside consented to sit perfectly still. But the moment scuffles arose, the peril of an overturn became imminent. We repeat it, that the church of England is almost compelled by circumstances to summon secular authority to her aid; or else a crash is inevitable. How, for example, can she argue against the Romanist, with her declaration of the real presence in the Eucharist, her absolution of sin on a sick-bed, her implied auricular confession before the communion, her transmission of the Holy Ghost in ordination, her vaunts about an apostolic succession, the validity or invalidity of her own sacraments, the criminality of schism, and the essential visibility and unity of the church? We might add to these her consideration for the three creeds and first four councils, her baptismal regeneration, her denial of the rights of private judgment. On the other hand, how can she argue handsomely with nonconformists, admitting as she does, that 'Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be believed, or required of any:' or again, that 'general councils may err, and have erred, even in things pertaining unto God:' or again, that 'those are lawfully called and sent to preach and administer the sacraments, who have public authority given unto them *in the congregation* to call and send ministers into the vineyard:' or other similar instances, in which her own formularies are quite as much opposed to each other, as many of her rivals are to herself? And yet she does argue both with

catholics and nonconformists, who in turning her own artillery upon her, force her to scream for secular assistance. Her failure in words must be made good by blows; and it will always be so with all established churches, by whatsoever name styled amongst men. They are in a false position for every conflict which they have to wage. When certain Greek priests in Russia find their flocks rather incredulous, with regard to the sanctity and virtues of an image of the Panagia, they produce the knout in corroboration of their arguments; and the effect is found to be wonderful. Affection we do not say is quite out of the question: yet no form of Christianity can ally itself to the state, without having sooner or later, every now and then, to call in the constable!

Hence the assemblage thickens of thoughtful men out of every class and denomination in society, who are gradually organizing an assault upon this citadel of Satan. The world itself has grown sick of seeing religion arrayed in political colours. It is felt to the very centre of the commonwealth, that something else is wanting for the solace and instruction of our growing population than an alb, a cope, or a tunicle! The opinion gains ground daily, that as an experiment, our national establishment has failed: it has not evangelized the masses; it has not even humanized the savagery which lay so long buried in the coal pits of Sunderland, or in the copper mines of Cornwall; it has illuminated neither the hearth of the British peasant nor the hovel of the Irish cotter; it has lit up no beacons of spiritual gladness upon the mountains of Wales, nor sent thither any 'beautiful feet' to proclaim the fair tidings of joy. Others have effected, or at least attempted, such achievements; but it has been under the frowns rather than the smiles of the Church of England. Not to her is our gratitude due for the disappearance of wreckers from our seacoasts, for the christian philanthropy which could descend unappalled into underground shafts and subterranean galleries, into regions where squalid poverty dwelt in perpetual darkness, and where neither a gleam of sunshine nor the countenance of an established clergyman had ever shone! With regard to the Principality, there are three or four rich bishoprics and several nearly sinecure benefices. We know of one, held by the younger scion of a ducal family, of which the income was nearly £2,000 a year, where the greatest sensation was produced by the permanent residence of a curate some years ago. But it was too late; nonconformity has extended throughout the length and breadth of the valleys. So again with respect to our own agricultural and manufacturing population; ignorance remains gigantic; crime multiplies daily; the virtue of chastity between the sexes is be-

coming more and more rare, except amongst a favoured few ; the poacher prowls abroad unchecked in his midnight career ; the firebrand has ignited during the past year from three to four hundred corn-ricks and hay-stacks in one eastern county alone ; the prisons overflow ; and our union-houses teem with misery ! The Church of England has confessed herself wholly inadequate to meet the calamity : her influence is fast waning into almost universal unpopularity ; the new churches are frequently not filled ; too many of them are supplied by rampant Tractarians—young, empty-headed, conceited collegians, red-hot from Oxford, practising all manner of obsolete mummeries at Christmas in the cold moonlight air, and brimful to the lips in patristic, rather than scriptural lore. We know a parish within thirty-six miles of the metropolis where the gospel has been ably expounded for ten incumbencies in succession, where there is scarcely a single dissenter, where several gentry are always resident, where the farmers and labourers are by no means below the average, where the population is seven hundred,—and yet where the communicants are not more than two dozen ! Nor is this a singular instance, such being about the scale of attendance throughout a most wide and respectable district more than twenty miles square, and including large portions of two counties. What makes it more remarkable is, that there is no leaven of Puseyism in the neighbourhood alluded to. It is nothing more nor less than the sheer silent conviction of internal dislike to things as they are. In one word, the Anglican catholic establishment has failed in her mission. Three centuries of undisturbed possession have brought us to the point at which we now are. *Carthago delenda sit* is the growing conviction of many bosoms, in relation to the present ecclesiastical system ; and therefore let us just take a few cursory glimpses as to the probability of its future prospects.

Our opinion is, that in some sense it will be very much the sport of circumstances, notwithstanding a motto assumed by Lord Eldon, on its special behalf, and which was often quoted during the struggles against Catholic Emancipation,—*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari !* With a premier like Sir Robert Peel, expediency will be the order of the day. Sincerely attached himself to the alliance, so far as he is attached to anything, he will make it play the part of the willow, more than that of the oak, as we have already seen in Ireland. With the usual flourish of the hand, and many more flourishes of rhetoric, the Church of England may still have a great deal to do, under his doubtful auspices, with ecclesiastical commissioners. There will be considerable expenditure of wrath in the House of Lords, abundance of agitation amongst the clergy, and all but open rebellion in the

schools at Oxford and Cambridge: yet, nevertheless, with the present Conservative administration, it will have to give way, to prevent worse consequences. For Tractarianism Sir Robert is known to entertain unmitigated contempt. He will commit himself and his church to as little as possible; throwing out every now and then some tub of concession to the popular whale; at the same time giving the prelacy to understand, that unless they manifest the most perfect quietude and submission, he will politically serve their lordships as the mariners literally served Jonah! In fact, even now the bishops should be learning to swim without bladders, for their seats in the Upper Chamber will not long survive the next liberal ministry. The real storm will probably break out first in Ireland, unless the current disturbances at home proceed from bad to worse, and call for immediate interference. It is understood, that a number of influential episcopalians hold frequent meetings in London, to watch all the changes of the tide, and take their measures accordingly. Grave proposals were started the other day, for summoning a kind of conclave, to put an extinguisher upon the tempest in the diocese of Exeter; but, after much discussion, it was permitted to drop. Should a genuine revival of Convocation occur, which has never met for business since the Bangorian controversy in 1717, an almost immediate explosion might be expected. It would bring the ardent spirits within, as it were, the deep narrow space of a saw-pit full of spiritual gunpowder! All the social materials around us have grown combustible; and an outbreak in the sister island, vast changes on the continent consequent upon the demise of the King of the French, or the pressure of pauperism at home, are events, all or any of which would affect our own position. The Establishment, like a lady of suspicious character, has become a topic of common conversation. She seems destined to pass through a purgatory of anticipated public opinion; and by dire experience, she has already known what it means, *virtū volitare per ora*! We are contemplating the subject, upon the supposition that the stream of affairs may, for a few years, flow quietly and smoothly along; but that enormous changes are looming forward, is but too evident. There is an hour not far off, which will test the stability of all our institutions; and how much more that one, which invites attack, which defies reformation, or which at least professes to do so: which puts forth pretensions to perfection: which grasps at dominion over the conscience: which lays fast hold on the present world, with all its gear and greatness, and merely with its little finger points to another, as if just to save appearances!

In that awful contest, every plant, which our heavenly Father hath not planted, will be plucked up; words frequently quoted

by a greater man than ourselves,—the late Robert Hall. He foresaw, more than forty years ago, that affairs would not always proceed in the old channels; that there would ensue a disruption between class and class; that the aristocracy would attempt, at all hazards, to retain their power; but, that the democracy would at last wrest it from them. Indissolubly connected with the former, stands the church of England; her sanctuary is identified with modern feudalism; when convenient to say so, she protests that her altars alone are the places for both spiritual and temporal refuge to the poor and destitute; and verily, if high payment could establish their claims for such refuge, they would have much to advance on the subject, for even labour indirectly, if not directly, contributes towards tithe and church-rate. But what is the plain fact? Go down into any part of the country by any one of our railroads; stop at the first station which shall be at the distance of one, two, or three hours from our crowded capital; thence, wind along the sweet rural lanes, and find your way to the nearest parish-church. It is no doubt an attractive structure, with its silent cemetery of graves, its picturesque yew trees, and its ivy-mantled tower. The clerk or sexton has brought the keys, and your attention on entrance is fixed upon one enormous square pew, absorbing about a half-quarter of the entire space, surrounded with armorial bearings, stuffed and cushioned at the four sides with sofas like a Turkish divan, carpeted all over like a drawing-room, with a dozen ottomans, with handsomely or even superbly bound prayer books and bibles slumbering in morocco cases, a mahogany table covered with a rich crimson cloth in the centre, and a comfortable fire-place in one corner. And this is the ‘home for the lonely;’ to adopt a phrase from one of our most notorious clergy, for the poor man! Why—does he ever set his foot within the limits of that oriental boudoir?—Never,—except to clean, and dust, and take off the gingham against Sunday;—for know, gentle readers, that the real pillow-cases are purple velvet! Where then do the peasantry worship? They kneel on those damp green stones, and sit upon those hard oaken seats, which have no backs to them, for fear, ‘as the parson says, they should fall asleep during the sermon!’ We sketch this picture, applying as it does in its main features to so many localities, because the press has recently emitted a quantity of nauseous cant, about the hardships of the voluntary principle, and the tender mercies of the compulsory one! It may be relied upon, that whatever our establishment may profess in theory, in practice it has no bowels for pauperism. Its genius was conceived in high places. It nestles in the mansion and not in the cottage. It has fellowship essentially with the rich

in fortune, rather than with such as may be merely so in faith and good works. It kneels with the noble and the great. It worships with the proud and learned. It loves fine linen, in more senses than those associated with lawn sleeves and snowy surplices. It prays for the commonalty so long as they abjure schism and rebellion. But its blessing, however sonorous, is a formal and an empty one. It sheds no dews of soft charity on the soul. The hungry, who wait for it, depart as hungry as ever. The very print of its foot is a cloven one!

Now what we aver is, that an ecclesiastical establishment, thus identified with a foredoomed aristocracy, must ultimately perish with that aristocracy. The popular voice has already condemned both. Between them they have had their own way for several generations; and what is the social result? The population of this country increases at the rate of a quarter of a million every week; and our new churches, as Burke says, 'pierce the skies, but do not avert the wrath of heaven!' Schoolhouses are founded in every village; two myriads of clergy exhort, reprove, preach, and, with individual exceptions, are hated. Nonconformists have grown to be numerous, but they were not so always; so that the fault cannot lie with them. But as a writer observes with great truthfulness,—'in spite of all our religious zeal and display, and with converts uncounted in every zone, there appears to exist some radical defect at home, some cause at work, which is incessantly sapping our social fabric, and which taints and cankers all that it touches. What catalogues of wickedness, want, and oppression, now make up the once short and simple annals of the poor. Parricide rises into a common occurrence; children slain by parents, themselves goaded by destitution into desperation; whole families extinguished by arsenic. In Somersetshire, a daughter coolly poisons her infirm parent, just saying to her sister, 'we shall do better without father!' In Suffolk, a grandmother destroys her granddaughter by the same means, and for the same reason. Near Bridgewater, a widow makes away with her daughter, mother, and brother, after having probably poisoned her husband. On the other hand, the misery of the people goes hand in hand with their wickedness.' Doctor Samuel Johnson also observes in his serious and solemn manner, 'When a great proportion of the people are suffered to languish in helpless misery, that country must be ill-policed, and wretchedly governed. A decent provision for the poor is the true test of civilization. The condition of the lower orders more especially is the true mark of national discrimination.' We are of course not charging all this load of indigence and suffering upon the protestant episcopal body, or on any single institution whatsoever. We are only

endeavouring to draw attention to a state of things, which must, sooner or later, produce an appalling change. If left altogether alone, then spontaneous combustion, so to speak, will be the no less hideous consequence. But meanwhile, the establishment, having committed itself to the anti-popular party, will in our judgment fall, and justly fall, with its selected friends and patrons. Should the revolution assume a violent form, its deposition will be consummated with expedition, and perhaps precipitation. Otherwise it may be more gradual than probably most voluntaries would desire. Either way, however, it must be evident that its days are numbered. Not for another age can Oxford be permitted to glory in her Laudian statutes, as though the ghost of that celebrated arch-prelate were never to be exorcised from the Bodleian and Radcliffe libraries. The bishops of London and Exeter are merely hastening forward what they themselves may possibly live to acknowledge, was stalking on quite rapidly enough. Before the bonds are broken asunder, which fasten together church and state, as also during the period of the process, whether it be longer or shorter, no doubt many individuals, and some groups of individuals, will formally withdraw to Rome. Still larger parties would, we think, join the Moravians and Episcopalian methodists, were greater opportunities offered for doing so in this country. Thousands and tens of thousands will probably become Congregationalists or Presbyterians. The Tractarians will follow their own sullen course, just as their predecessors the non-jurors did before them; yet it may be questioned whether they will maintain the piety of Ken, or the virtues of Kettlewell. They will more likely degenerate into such bigots as Collier,—dull dusty bookworms,—Egyptian slaves, labouring to make bricks without straw, to engraft fervour upon formalism, and substitute theological ethics, if we may be allowed the term, for the vigour and vitality of the gospel. Allowing for these, and other analogous secessions, there will yet remain the dead materials,—the vast carcase of the conservatives of the church of England,—a huge, wealthy, respectable sect, disposed to love order, and eschew enthusiasm; whose best prospect of a religious revival, through the divine blessing, will be in their forcible separation from the instrumental cause of their torpor. No longer having the state to lean upon; no longer encumbered with a hierarchy and clergy looking one way and rowing another; delivered from the stupifying effects of seats in the House of Peers, lazy dignitaries in the shape of overpaid deans and chapters, the millstone of patronage, and the delusive security of the compulsory principle,—they may rouse themselves into unwonted activity, and take their place, as in the United States of America, amongst the other religious denominations of the British empire.

Brief Notices.

Notices of Windsor in the Olden Time. By John Stoughton. Bogue, London. Pp. 236.

'THE author spent eleven happy years in the town of Windsor. It was natural that he should feel interested in the history and antiquities of so remarkable a place; and therefore he devoted as much time to their investigation as he could spare from more important engagements. On different occasions he laid before the Literary Institution in the town the results of his inquiries; and the papers which he read, excited so much interest as to lead to a request that he would prepare for the press a work upon the antiquities of Windsor. Having collected sufficient materials for the purpose, he felt disposed to comply with the wishes of his friends: and the little book now presented to the public is the fruit of his labours.'—*Preface.*

We are not surprised that when Mr. Stoughton had industriously collected so much interesting information concerning their famous Windsor, the inhabitants of the royal town should have solicited him to make their gratification permanent, by committing his 'Notices' to the press. He has presented us with a volume exceeding beautiful in its appearance; while the research which has been necessary, the judgment with which his materials are selected, the skill with which they are arranged, and the true taste and correctness of sentiment which characterise the whole, entitle the volume to our praise, and we cheerfully bestow it.

'The object of the author has been to present the History of Windsor in such a form as to interest the general reader, and to meet that taste for antiquarian research and historical associations in connexion with remarkable places, so characteristic of the age. He has endeavoured to give some glimpses of the state of society during the successive periods through which his history extends: and if in doing this he may sometimes have a little stepped out of the way, yet he trusts he has succeeded in giving an aspect of more general interest to the local scenes and circumstances he has described. Through the whole work he has also attempted to breathe that moral and religious spirit which should pervade not only the graver studies, but even the literary recreations of intellectual and spiritual beings.'—*Preface*, p. vii.

Mr. Stoughton has succeeded in his object; and his elegant volume will doubtless be received with the favour it deserves.

Outlines of Congregationalism. With a Historical Sketch of its Rise and Progress in the Town of Andover. By the Rev. J. S. Pearsall. London; Snow. Pp. 159.

MR. PEARSALL has exhibited the principles of congregationalism in a clear and able manner and in the spirit of christianity, and we wish his book may have an extensive circulation. It is one which may be unhe-

sitatingly put into the hands of any, whether the uninformed of our friends or such as are strangers to our real sentiments. Should a second edition be called for, we hope to see some grammatical errors (which in the present volume we charge upon the printer) corrected. We refer to such sentences as the following : ' Whilst the noiseless current of ordinary affairs too often *flow* past ;—As Henry, . . . James, or Charles *sway* the sceptre ;—*Have* the church a right, &c. ;—The greatest solemnity and kindness of feeling *was* to accompany, &c. ;—Neither Peter nor Paul *speak* of, &c.'

The Convict Ship. A narrative of the results of Scriptural Instruction and Moral Discipline, as these appeared on board the ' Earl Grey ' during the voyage to Tasmania, &c. By C. A. Browning, M.D., &c. London : Smith, Elder, and Co. 1844. Pp. 324.

THE title will convey a correct idea of this very interesting narrative of efforts, judiciously made, for reclaiming to God and happiness a class of men of whose conversion too many christians would, we fear, be ready to despond. Strong faith, however, in the adaptation of the gospel to its intended end, with great confidence in the efficacy of prayer, when combined with zealous and persevering endeavours made in a right spirit, enabled the pious and devoted author to triumph over difficulties of no ordinary kind. His holy labours seem to have been abundantly blessed of God ; and we cannot restrain the utterance of a fervent wish that just such right-minded christians were found pursuing the work of faith in every receptacle of human guilt and misery. The true philanthropist will derive both instruction and encouragement from Dr. Browning's interesting publication.

Discourses by William Anderson. Glasgow : Jackson. 1844. pp. 346.

ANOTHER volume of sermons ! Well, if preachers will publish, reviewers, we suppose, must read, however much they may envy those who are privileged to hold themselves excused. We say privileged,—for it is often a dull and weary task, that is assigned to us, and we are sometimes reminded of a story current in our school-boy days, for the truth of which we will not, indeed, vouch, but it is a good story enough, for all that. It seems that a certain peer, whose economical organ (if such there be — and if not, we very humbly crave pardon of the phrenologist for making one for the occasion) was largely developed, not to say enormously, contrived, since his estate abounded with rabbits, to regale himself and his chaplain day after day right frugally ; till at length, on the accustomed dish being once more placed upon the board, the aforesaid chaplain intimated his sense of satiety by giving in a metrical grace of some half dozen lines a very pleasant paraphrase of Horace's *Jam Satis est*.

But though these are certainly the feelings with which we take up ninety-nine out of every hundred volumes of modern sermons, Mr. Anderson's book forms a pleasant exception, and we are glad he has published it : we have derived both pleasure and profit from the perusal, and heartily commend it to our readers. The author is evidently one of

those men (and we wish the number were greater) who preach because they feel they have something of importance to communicate. There is the true prophetic spirit in him—'We believed, and therefore speak;' and his sentiments, for the most part, are healthful as the breezes of his native hills. He does not, perhaps, care to ask of the dry and shrivelled spirit of orthodoxy what he shall say, or how he shall express himself, but manifestly seeks the inspiration of the Spirit of truth. Is this a fault? His discourses, however, are thoroughly evangelical: else they would have had but little welcome from us. We can easily imagine, indeed, that his hearers are not seldom conscious of a wish to pause and think over, before they receive, some sentiment which he suggests; but they must postpone the examination, for the preacher is on his way.

Of course we do not intimate a perfect concurrence with our author in all that he advances. We think he fails to establish some points on which he is disposed to lay stress. Among these we include the notion that the infant children of unbelievers, dying in infancy, will not be saved 'with a salvation so glorious as that of the offspring of the saints;' and that the departed infant of pious parents will have a more glorious position than the child, only one of whose parents had been renewed.

We fancy, too, that Mr. Anderson's hearers (who are nevertheless privileged beyond most congregations) must be occasionally conscious of a feeling akin to regret that some more felicitous expression had not been substituted. We cannot think, for instance, that a desirable effect is produced when the preacher addresses some one whom he supposes present, as a 'miserable fool!' or asks, 'can any saint be so befooled as he.' Nor does the expression—'a nuisance to the Lord,' exactly fall in with our ideas of propriety; neither do we admire the attributing to Satan any particular perversion of a text, and speaking of it as 'Satan's commentary.' We should not be disposed to say, 'As soon as there was a God;' nor does the English language easily admit of a sentence so elliptical as—'But what although?'—and we think that the rather frequent exclamation of 'Oh me!' and 'Ah me!' is very far from adding strength to a sentence, or giving effect to a sentiment.

Mr. Anderson will excuse the expression of a wish that in preparing for the press a volume so truly excellent—a somewhat stricter revision had been exercised. It is our satisfaction with the work as a whole which occasions the regret that some few minor faults, which could have been so easily obviated, had not attracted the notice of the respected author. We observe on p. 4 several notes of interrogation improperly introduced, the effect of which is to put the mind upon a course of curious calculation, instead of filling it with a sentiment which is intended to excite emotion. And we should have been glad if the book, which is beautifully printed, had not in many of its pages been disfigured by the introduction of several unnecessary capitals. Still, the blemishes are few, and the excellence of the work is great: we give it our cordial recommendation, and shall be happy to receive the other volume, which the author intimates he is preparing for the press.

Animal Physiology, pp. 579. By W. B. Carpenter, M.D., Author of 'Principles of General and Comparative Physiology,' and 'Principles of Human Physiology.' (Popular Cyclopædia of Natural Science.) London: Orr and Co. 1843.

ONE of the disadvantages of that eager, though beneficial, attempt to popularize literature and science, and to provide books 'for the million,' which characterizes the publishing world in the present day, is the tendency, for the sake of cheapness and facility of production, to entrust important subjects to writers but ill prepared to treat them; who either content themselves with a superficial outline without going thoroughly into details, or if they attempt anything more, blunder into grievous inaccuracies, and exchange a superficiality, which is merely useless, for a quality, which is positively pernicious. This cannot be said of the admirable publications of this judiciously planned and admirably executed series, and least of all, of the work now under consideration. If the kingdom had been searched through, probably a man better qualified to furnish a treatise on such a subject, and in such a form could not have been found than Dr. Carpenter. His previous works show him to have been thoroughly master of his subject, and well prepared, to digest his knowledge into a manual like the present. They have attained the highest commendations of journals, which, as being professional, necessarily carry greater weight with them on such topics than our own. Of Dr. Carpenter's work on the 'Principles of General and Comparative Physiology,' no less an authority than the 'British and Foreign Medical Review,' said so long ago as 1839, (vol. vii. art. 9,) 'The work before us has equalled our most sanguine expectations. This would be recognized as high praise, were we to relate all that our knowledge of the mental qualities of the author, and of the attainments which have fitted him for his undertaking, had led us to look for.' And at the close of the article, the writer remarks:—'Had we seen the book in manuscript, our *imprimatur* would have been inscribed, not in its usually permissive, but in its absolutely imperative form.'

The present work will do no discredit to Dr. Carpenter's well-earned reputation. It is divided into fifteen chapters, and the comprehensive character, as well as judicious plan of the work, will appear from their titles. They are:—1. On the vital operations of Animals, and the instruments by which they are performed. 2. General view of the Animal Kingdom. 3. Nature and Sources of Animal Food. 4. Digestion and Absorption. 5. On the Blood, and its circulation. 6. On Respiration. 7. On Secretion. 8. General Review of the Nutritive Operations—Formation of Tissues. 9. On the Evolution of Light, Heat, and Electricity by Animals. 10. Functions of the Nervous System. 11. On Sensation and the Organs of Sense. 12. On Animal Motion. 13. On the Voice. 14. On Instinct and Intelligence. 15. On Reproduction.

The style of Dr. Carpenter is remarkably perspicuous, and not seldom characterized by that facility of apt and simple illustration which give such a charm to the pages of Paley. The whole work is profusely and admirably illustrated by wood engravings.

While it deserves a place in every library, it is particularly worthy of

the study of those who are preparing for the B.A. examination of the London University, and we can bear our testimony to its practical value as a text-book to such students. If we have been correctly informed, the author partly designed his work for their convenience.

The treatise on 'Mechanics and Astronomy,' in the same series, and by the same author, is also an admirable work, though scarcely equal to that on Animal Physiology—which, indeed, considering that the last has been so long, and so intently the author's favourite study, could not be fairly expected. We scarcely know, however, where, for the same moderate price, such a mass of information on these subjects—so clearly expressed, so aptly illustrated, and so profusely accompanied with diagrams and engravings, could be met with, except in this volume. To both works we cordially wish an extensive circulation.

Literary Intelligence.

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